

ACTA THOMAE MORI

HISTORY OF THE REPORTS OF
HIS TRIAL AND DEATH
WITH AN UNEDITED CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVE

BY

HENRY DE VOCHT

Dr. Ph. & Litt., Dr. Phil. Tartuensis *ad hon.*
Professor in the University of Louvain

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DEDICATED
IN AFFECTIONATE REMEMBRANCE
TO ALL WHO ATTENDED
THE AUTHOR'S LECTURES IN
THE INSTITUTE FOR COMMERCE
AND ECONOMICS
OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF LOUVAIN
1906-1946

¶ HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

7



ACTA THOMAE MORI



PREFACE

The present volume introduces to the knowledge of the historians of Thomas More's life, a narrative of his trial and death which was translated from an English report into Latin a few weeks after the sad event occurred. That document was discovered in a rich collection of manuscript records, chiefly of the first half of the sixteenth century, from which seven were chosen¹⁾ to be edited in the *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 1934²⁾. To all appearance its very existence had been ignored for at least three centuries; yet its significance can be perceived at first sight, and the interest in the find grows as it is closely examined. On account of that interest, the text of this *Ordo Condemnationis Thomae Mori*, along with a rough draught of an introduction to it, was submitted at the time of the centenary of the Martyr's death and of his canonization, to the editor of a Catholic review in England, who, on the advice of a prelate, suggested that, instead of the 'Latin original', only a translation in modern English should be published. In consequence the subject, which was to have had full and prompt attention, was put aside for other matters which meanwhile had cropped up and monopolized all study and time³⁾.

¹⁾ Viz., an apology of his doctrine by Martin van Dorp, 1521, and a biographical sketch of him, by his disciple Morinck, 1526; and five letters of Morinck to four friends who variously judged Erasmus: the poet Livinus Crucius, 1526, the former secretary of Adrian VI, Thierry Hezius, 1537, and two monks of St. Martin's Priory, Louvain, Martin Lips, 1537, and Nicolas van Winghe, 1545, 1547.

²⁾ H. de Vocht, *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia*. Texts and Studies about Louvain Humanists in the first half of the XVIth century. Erasmus, Vives, Dorpius, Clenardus, Goes, Moringus: Louvain, 1934.

³⁾ Viz., reprints of the in-quarto editions of Ben Jonson's dramas with critical comments on the texts and on the comparative value of the in-quarto and in-folio editions: *Poetaster*, 1934, *Seianus*, 1935, *Every Man out of his Humour*, 1937, *Volpone*, 1937 (*Materials for the Study of the Old English Drama*, vols. IX, XI, XIII, XIV: Louvain, 1934-37); besides the edition of *Shakespeare's Hamlet: an Attempt at a Metrical Reconstruction*: Louvain, 1940.

Still, far from being lost sight of, it was continually amplified and deepened, and each subsequent visit to England and her Libraries provided an increase in information, which was steadily growing in extent and intensity until the late War broke out, and shut us up in a far more besetting prison than that to which Hamlet referred ¹⁾. Those circumstances have not only caused a long delay in bringing out this work, but have also influenced some of its particulars. Although the original of the new narrative has always remained available, there was great difficulty in securing the contemporary relations of More's trial and death with which it was to be compared. The copies of the first edition of the *Expositio Fidelis*, at Basle, in the beginning of 1536 if not at the end of 1535, as well as its two reproductions issued at Antwerp in 1536, were out of reach, so that the reprint in Thomas More's *Lucubrationes*, of Basle, 1563, had to serve as basis for the comparative study ²⁾. Similarly the only text of the French translation, the *Récit*, that could be used, was that published by le Laboureur in 1731, at least until the end of the hostilities allowed the acquisition of the biographies by Harpsfield and Roper in the recent *Early English Text Society* reprints, as well as that of some other indispensable books, replacing those which perished in May 1940 in the complete destruction of the University Library of cruelly mangled Louvain. Of two contemporary German translations, one in the British Museum (press mark 699. g. 36) and the other in the Cock Library, of Guild Hall, only the titles are known.

Notwithstanding those and other handicaps, the comparative study of the various narratives brought the proof that the *Ordo* deserves far more attention than that of a free translation of some rare piece kindly admitted amongst the curiosities in a review. It proves to be an exceptionally valuable document for the knowledge about More and about the religious struggle in England, if examined in its minute details according to the scientifically exact method of history ³⁾. It shows that the *Expositio Fidelis* which, until

¹⁾ *Hamlet*, II, ii, 250-61.

²⁾ More *Luc.*, 511, *sq.* It had been collated before with the copies of 1536, as well as with the text reproduced in *D. Erasmi Opera Omnia* : Leyden, 1703 : EE, 1763, B, *sq.*

³⁾ That method does not appear to be always appreciated by some

recently, was held with Roper's narrative as the only source of information about More's trial, gives a very unreliable account of that important event, since it unduly excuses and minimizes all tyrannical and prejudicial acts and decisions of the King and of his helpers, whereas it does not at all do justice to More and to his moral greatness. It moreover disfigures the defence of one of the greatest English lawyers at bay, and represents the unjustifiable condemnation, accepted with heroic meekness, as far less impressive than the meeting of the sentenced father with his favourite daughter Margaret before the gate of the Tower. Those evidently deteriorating changes of an original English report, which cannot possibly have been equivalent to the *Expositio*, find their explanation in the fact that the arrangement is wholly due to Erasmus, who was wavering between his wish to stand up for an *alter ego* who had enjoyed his lifelong affection, and his dread of cutting off all subsidies and pensions from England, if he ever spoke out his mind. For there cannot be any doubt about his authorship, although the Bollandist van Ortrooy undertook to prove that the *Expositio* was written by Philip Montanus ¹⁾, and although generally it is considered as a mere rendering of the *Récit* ²⁾. The study of this *Ordo* shows that the 'Paris News-letter' is evidently translated from the first issue of Erasmus' *Expositio*, of the first half of October 1535. The introduction and the notes published here with the newly-found narrative, relate the history of the *Acta Thomae Mori*, and offer a solution to those, and to several other, problems that were hovering over the Martyr's life and death, such as his connection with Erasmus up to his last years, which proves to have been a complete union in

authors. A sad example is given by 'Cardinal Pole and his Early Friends' (London, 1927), containing letters about which the editor states in his *Foreword* (p. vi) : 'I have arranged these letters and have given a free translation of them, as it did not appear worth while to print them in the original rather stilted Latin' ! In the same book it is said, on p. 69, that 'John Clement (*Clemens noster*) married Margaret Roper, the ward of Sir Thomas More' — which mistake does not show much familiarity with More's writings.

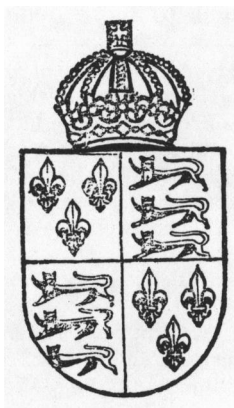
¹⁾ Fr. van Ortrooy, *Vie du Bienheureux Martyr Jean Fisher* : Brussels, 1893 : 35, 65, 66.

²⁾ E. V. Hitchcock & R. W. Chambers, *The Life and Death of St Thomas Moore by Nicholas Harpsfield* : London, 1932 : 254-255 ; — R. W. Chambers, *Thomas More* : London, 1938 : 334, 349 ; &c.

mind and affection. Most of all they point out the splendid plea of the great lawyer, who, at his trial, stood up by himself against an all-powerful monarch and a Parliament ready to approve of all tyrannical decrees; who by his prudent and discriminating courage, contrived to lay all the blame of the sentence on Henry and his advisers, whilst accepting almost joyfully the sacrifice of a guiltless and most meritorious life, to which he clung more than any man, for the sake of Truth and Justice, speaking out his joy in being a second John the Baptist.

* * *

My hearty thanks are offered to the Chief Conservator of the General Archives of the Realm, Brussels, for the generous loan, extending over many years, of the precious volume from which the *Ordo* and so many other documents were edited. Also to the Director of the British Museum, London, for providing the photostats of the first German translation of the *Expositio*. For the painstaking reading of the proofs, and for several most beneficent suggestions, as well as for his encouraging interest in my research work, I am deeply obliged to my dear colleague Professor R. DRAGUET. I am sorry that I can only express my profound gratitude to the memory of my friend Mrs. F. TASKER PESSERS, who kindly and patiently helped me in the composition of this memoir, the appearance of which would have rejoiced the heart of that loving admirer of the 'greatest' amongst all countrymen of hers.



I

MORE'S TRIAL AND DEATH

THOMAS

MORE



I. MORE'S TRIAL AND DEATH

A. THOMAS MORE'S MARTYRDOM

The tragic death on account of which Thomas More was considered as a martyr long before the Church placed him on her altars, was surrounded by such exceptional circumstances, and invested with such peculiar characteristics that it stands out as a unique fact in history. He did not give his life in testimony of a generally accepted truth, of a dogm with which he had grown up, and which had become as one of the directive powers of his soul. It was not for Transubstantiation, or Our Lady's Virginity that he staked his life, in which case he would have been necessarily upheld by a lifelong conviction, grown into his very existence, whose break-down would have been as the annihilation of his spiritual world. He died for disapproving of Henry VIII's second marriage and of the supremacy which he took over the Church of England, since the Pope refused to declare his first marriage invalid. In his infatuation for Anne Boleyn, the King had expected that Clement VII would have freed him from his bond with Catherine, as had been done in 1499 for Louis XII, married to Jane of Valois, and, later on, for the Duke of Suffolk ¹⁾. In his disappointment he tried to gather declarations from divines and universities that no Pope could grant dispensations in cases of first grade affinity ²⁾; non-plussed again, he took the matter in his own hands with the help of a subservient Parliament and a clergy that proved entirely at his mercy. More accordingly resigned his chancellorship, and as Henry valued him as none other of his

¹⁾ Pastor, III, 439, 443; Constant, 25-26, 340, 351, 356, 362.

²⁾ Still at the same time Henry applied to Clement VII with the request of a dispensation for the impediment of first grade affinity existing between him and Anne Boleyn : Ehses, *xxiii*, 14-17.

subjects ¹⁾, he revenged himself on his uprightness which was an accusation to him, and a dangerous example to others. Although ready to accept Elizabeth, Anne's child, as heir to the throne, More refused to sign an act which implied the invalidity of the first marriage and of the Pope's dispensation ²⁾; he was sent to the Tower, but he did not reply otherwise than by silence when asked about the King's Supremacy, even at his trial. It was only after the fateful verdict of the jury that he declared that the promise made in baptism obliged him to stand by the Unity of the Church, and that no lay prince could ever be the head of any Church or churchmen ³⁾. Fisher died for upholding the honour of marriage, as he was the confessor of the wronged Queen and the eldest Bishop of the Realm. More died for the spiritual authority of the Church and her independence from monarchs and governments, for which his predecessor in the chancellorship, Thomas a Becket, had died three centuries and a half earlier, and which before him Gregory VII had victoriously upheld against Henry IV. Those two great heroes in Church History had it as part of their duty to uphold the rights of spiritual authority, whereas Thomas More was drawn against his will into the conflict; yet he did not hesitate testifying with his blood to his faith in the spiritual leadership of the Church, exclusive of all interference from any lay power, without which faith a Christian would not even be a Christian.

As Henry VIII's long machinations in favour of his marriage with Anne Boleyn were all directed against Clement VII and his prerogatives ⁴⁾, Thomas More, who fell as the most venerable of his victims, was considered by his enemies ⁵⁾ as well as by his fellow-believers ⁶⁾ as the defender, the upholder of the Papal authority, of Rome. His testimony

¹⁾ Stapleton, 344, 349 : Henry even wanted More's help in his divorce, which may explain Anne's animosity.

²⁾ Stapleton, 282-287; Harps., 359.

³⁾ PollCra., 81, states that More died as a result of the Act of Treason, and not for refusing the Oath of Supremacy, — which sounds as mere quibbling since the former was made to enforce the latter, so as to make it appear as if Catherine of Aragon's marriage were invalid.

⁴⁾ Cp. for the history of that conflict Pastor, IV, ii, 483-516.

⁵⁾ Strype, I, 285-86, 290-92; MoreW, 1426, H : here More called the Pope's Supremacy, *Primacy*.

⁶⁾ Stapleton, 338, 343, 349, &c.; Pastor, IV, ii, 515-16; Constant, 515.

came as a most welcome help to the Church, so much the more since it required courage and perspicacity besides sound faith. In the two last centuries Roman authority had cruelly suffered through the scandalizing confusion of the Western Schism ¹⁾. The divines gathered in 1414 at Constance, and afterwards at Basle, with a view to put an end to that anomaly, found it most natural to proclaim the superiority of the General Council over the Pope ²⁾, which opinion was certainly not weakened by the personal character of some of the men who, in the following decads, occupied St. Peter's see ³⁾. By 1511 it brought together the Synod of Pisa, and only then it was authoritatively contradicted by the Fathers of the Lateran Council, 1512, headed by Cardinal Cajetan, who affirmed the divine origin of the Primacy ⁴⁾. That thesis, however, did not find general acknowledgment : in the first third of the XVIth century, a most conservative divine of Louvain, John Nys Driedo, of Turnhout, accepted the possibility of a pope becoming a heretic or a schismatic, in which case he would be made subordinate *in causis propriis* to the power of the Universal Church ⁵⁾. In his *De Primatu Romani Pontificis*, 1525-26, written against Luther, James Latomus, another Louvain divine, does neither propose nor condemn the theory of the supremacy of the General Council ⁶⁾; and from notes taken during lectures on *Quaestiones in Quartum Sententiarum*, edited by James Dassonville in Paris, 1516 ⁷⁾, and reprinted in Rome after he had been

¹⁾ *DThC*, X, i, 311; Chambers, 194-6, 329.

²⁾ Herborn, *Enchiridion Locorum Communium*, 1529 : *CorpCath.*, XII, 105, sq; *DThC*, X, i, 311-15.

³⁾ *DThC*, X, i, 315-16; Blunt, I, 238, sq.

⁴⁾ Fr. Lauchert, *Thomas de Vio Caietanus, De Divina Institutione Pontificatus Romani*, 1521 : *CorpCath.*, X, 21, sq; *DThC*, X, i, 317-18.

⁵⁾ Driedo, *De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis et Dogmatibus* : Louvain, 1533 : 566-7; de Jongh, 160, 219. The pamphlet *Acta Academiae Lovaniensis contra Lutherum*, 1520, mentions that the Louvain doctors do not condemn what most burdens the Wittenberg monk, namely the divine origin of the Roman primacy and that Driedo, although refuting his conclusions, does not wish to touch that question : ' testatus est hoc se velle intactum relinquere ' : f a 3 v.

⁶⁾ Jacobi Latomi *De Primatu Romani Pontificis*, 1526: K 4 v; *Bib-RefNe.*, III, 87, 108-109, 181-189; de Jongh, 99, 178-79, 218-19.

⁷⁾ Adrian, it seems, was displeased with that edition : *AdriBur.*, 12.

chosen to succeed Leo X, Adrian of Utrecht ¹⁾ is presumed to have owned that popes could err in matters of faith, and that some had actually erred ²⁾. Although in answer to Luther's attack, the divine institution of the Primacy was proclaimed by Emser and Cochlaeus, Fisher and Wicelius ³⁾, it was far from being readily accepted : Gasparo Contarini, afterwards Cardinal, had to defend it before the Council of Venice between 1530 and 1535 ⁴⁾, whereas the Eldest Daughter of the Church persisted for a long period yet in her Gallican principles ⁵⁾.

* * *

Nor was England any different. Although King and country were staunch in their orthodoxy ⁶⁾, the Statute of *Praemunire* of 1353, which had been re-enacted and strengthened in 1392, had sanctioned the opposition to the Pope's claim on English benefices and supreme jurisdiction, in so far that it sounded as the actual acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy formally decreed more than two centuries later. No tax was sent to Rome from England except by Royal permission, and in 1515, Henry VIII enforced his own will in a conflict of ecclesiastical jurisdiction against Wolsey and

¹⁾ Pastor, IV, ii, 28; *AdriReus.*, *xxviii-xxxi*, 122-152; *AdriHöf.*, 376; de Jongh, 98-100; *AdriPas.*, 21; *AdriBau.*, 9-10.

²⁾ Twenty-one years after More's death, Pope Paul IV suspected his Cardinals Pole and Morone of heresy; the latter was kept four years in prison, although the Inquisition could not find any fault in him; Pole died before he left to answer the charge; for certain it was a disciplinary error : Pastor, VI, 528, *sq*; *Morone*, *xv*, *sq*.

³⁾ *CorpCath.*, IV, 75, *sq*, IX, 75, *sq*, XVIII, 81 *sq*, 76, *sq*, 189. At the time of More's trial and death, Reginald Pole worked at his *Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione*, 1537; after those events Albert Pighius wrote his *Hierarchiae Ecclesiasticae Assertio* (Cologne, 1544), and by the end of the century Nicolas Sanderus published two issues of his *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae Libri VIII* : 1571, 1592.

⁴⁾ Lauchert, 374, 376-77; *CorpCath.*, VII, *xiii-xiv*, 35-48; ContarE, 248-251.

⁵⁾ Cardinal Cajetan's *De Comparatione Autoritatis Papae et Concilii* (Rome, 1511) was not only attacked, but even censured and condemned by the Paris Faculty of Divinity : Delisle, 11, 29, 39; *CorpCath.*, X, *x-aii*; *DThC*, X, i, 817-18; *Morone*, *xlviii-xlix*; Buschbell, 46-47, 248.

⁶⁾ J. L. Morison, *Reginald Pecock's Book of Faith* : Glasgow, 1909 : 28-36, 65.

the clergy, who wished to submit the matter to the Pope ¹⁾. He was not long in finding out the handiness of that Statute of *Praemunire* : in 1529, he used it to ruin Wolsey on the ground that he had usurped legatine powers ²⁾ ; after having turned Parliament against the clergy with their fees and dues, in 1529, he charged the Convocation of Canterbury and that of York in 1531 with a breach of the same Statute by their submission to Wolsey's legatine authority : they offered to buy their pardon at an enormous price, which was not granted unless they acknowledged him as supreme head of the Church of England. Considering that no Pope had ever demanded that title for England or for any other country, and that the King claimed to be recognized merely as the highest authority in the relation between the clergy and the laity, the requested addition was conceded — with the silent reserve, ' so far as is allowed by the law of Christ ' — against the decided, but almost exceptional, opposition of Bishop Fisher. After Parliament had attacked them once more with the undubitable approval of the King, the clergy signed in 1532 their full submission for the convening of the Convocations and the enacting of new canons ³⁾. It was that bill of submission, which Thomas More had opposed in the Royal Council, and which he caused to be rejected in the House of Lords on May 13, 1532, which made him ask, three days later, to be relieved of his Chancellorship; he foresaw that Henry VIII's supremacy would lead to a regular refusal of submission to the Roman See, and even to a breach of orthodoxy if the royal secretary and adviser, the unprincipled Cromwell, had his way ⁴⁾. Still he did not give that motive for his resignation, which was accepted. Events proved that he was not mistaken : in that same year 1532, Parliament voted the first *Act of Annates*, giving to the King the right of keeping back all the first fruits of the bishoprics, and in 1533, the *Act of Appeals*, prohibiting all recourse, for spiritual as well as for temporal matters, to any authority outside the realm. Whilst Henry VIII pre-

¹⁾ Gairdner, 45-49.

²⁾ Gairdner, 96.

³⁾ Gairdner, 114-115.

⁴⁾ MoreW, 1426-7; Gairdner, 122, 124-128; Constant, 514-15; Bémont, 8, 9, 27.

tendedly appealed from the Pope to the General Council for his personal case ¹⁾, Cranmer, the newly appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, hastened to make use of the new Acts to pronounce the nullity of the marriage with Catherine of Aragon, who now was deprived of all chance of recourse. Indeed, in 1534, Parliament, besides securing to Henry the nomination of the bishops, as well as the sole right to the Annates and to all other dues paid up to then to Rome, completed the separation from the Papal see by empowering the Archbishop of Canterbury to issue licences and dispensations, and by instituting the Delegates of Appeals for the recourse from his court. The *Act of Succession*, passed in that same year, required from all the subjects the oath acknowledging their approval of Anne Boleyn's daughter as heir to the Crown. As the King felt that, notwithstanding those Acts of his servile Parliament ²⁾, he was not backed by public opinion, he wished to curb it by the submission of the two most important men of his country, the one in the world of religion, John Fisher, the other in the world of thought, Thomas More. On April 15, 1534, a formula of an oath was proposed to them, but they refused to swear to it, and were consequently sent to the Tower. More objected to it as a lawyer since it was different in tenor to that given substantially in the Act : he declared ready to accept the succession, but declined swearing to the preamble, which implied a repudiation of the authority of the Pope ³⁾, if not also a disapproval of Henry's first marriage ⁴⁾. To master the ex-Chancellor's « law », a fresh statute was passed in 1535, declaring that the oath proposed in 1534 was the one intended by the *Act of Succession* : it was formally tendered once more to the two prisoners by a special commission, but, naturally, was rejected again ⁵⁾, so much the more as Cromwell, meanwhile, had pushed that Act to its extreme conse-

¹⁾ PollHen., 315.

²⁾ Harps., 350-52.

³⁾ Blunt, I, 417-418, quotes a formula, which, he says, was entered in the Journals of the House of Lords at the close of the proceedings of the session — creating a suspicion of dishonesty. Cp. Pastor, IV, ii, 514; Stapleton, 282-287; Harps., 359.

⁴⁾ Morris, 10-11, gives a formula mentioning Queen Anne as the King's dear, well-beloved and legal wife.

⁵⁾ 26 Henry VIII, cap. 2 : MoreW, 1428, sq; StrypeCra., I, 36-38.

quences. Subservient Parliament had passed two further Acts in 1534 after More's imprisonment : the *New Act of Treason* made it high treason to talk ill of King or Queen, or to deny any of their titles ¹⁾, and the *Act of Supremacy* confirmed the King's Supreme Headship on earth over the Church of England. Whoever refused that title to Henry VIII, was liable to a traitor's barbarous execution. It sealed the fate of several Friars Observant, who had referred to the King's second marriage as adultery; of some Carthusians, who refused the oath of Supremacy; also of Fisher, who from 1527 had opposed Henry VIII's encroachments on ecclesiastical law ²⁾, and finally of Thomas More ³⁾.

* * *

Being a layman More had not been called upon to give his opinion on a question which was so intimately connected with theology and church discipline ⁴⁾, although such matters had been the object of his personal study and research ⁵⁾. As a man of keen intelligence and sound judgment, he saw the two sides of a case, and as a lover of truth, he understood that only either evidence or the undubitable authority of the Church could command conviction. Living in a country in which some of the prerogatives of the Roman Court had been rejected since several centuries, he had considered its authority as the result of historical events, which, no doubt, circumscribed in England some of the privileges which it enjoyed elsewhere; for certain, its divine origin does not seem to have always been invested for him with the character of undeniableness. When Henry VIII submitted to him his *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, 1521, in which the su-

¹⁾ This act was used against More and Fisher : Constant, II, 50, 60-61.

²⁾ Pastor, IV, ii, 488.

³⁾ There was an Act of Attainder made by Parliament against More as well as against Fisher : Gairdner, 153.

⁴⁾ When requested to give his opinion about the validity of the royal marriage, by Cromwell and others on May 7, 1535, More replied 'I will not meddle with any such matters' : Froude, II, 269, quoting from the *Baga de Secretis*, 7, 3; Stapleton, 315-316. Cp. Harps., cciv, sq.

⁵⁾ Henry VIII had asked him and Fisher to refute Luther's answer to his *Assertio*; he did so under the name of William Ross, *Rossæus*, 1528 : Brewer, 428-429; Pastor, IV, ii, 484; Allen, VII, 1804, 2.

preme authority of the Pope is repeatedly asserted and based on divine origin ¹⁾, he advised him to tone down his testimony to the all-prevailingness of the Roman See, for fear that afterwards he might regret it in disputes, which had not been uncommon during the reigns of his predecessors. Yet the King did not change his text, since he wished to gain the Holy Father's favour for a secret matter, which is still a secret ²⁾. It thus appears that More had neither considered the extent, nor the origin of the authority of the Roman Pontiff ³⁾, though he had always esteemed it most venerable and necessary to the Church, until he was made attentive to the question by Henry VIII ⁴⁾. He stated in 1533 that he had been studying over seven years to test the conviction that God provided the Primacy of the Pape and his spiritual authority over the Church ⁵⁾ : and yet he offered his life in testimony of what for several years he had not considered as stringent enough to carry his assent.

* * *

Even after he had gained certitude, the matter did not offer itself to him as an occasion to manifest his enthusiasm or his obstinate assertion of truth. More's was not a challenging, combative nature, delighting in fight and counter-affirmation. He was, before all, conscious of the possibility of doubt, and as an intelligent man he knew himself to be changeable; he, moreover, was ready to advocate changes

¹⁾ E. g., *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, Antwerp, Mich. Hillen, April 1, 1522 : a 4 r, b 1 v, sq, b 3 r-c 1 v, k 1 v, p 1 v, sq.

²⁾ It is thought by some that 'the matter' was the hope on some dispensation enabling Henry to get a male heir : still the idea of a divorce had not been expressed, nor hinted at in 1521, and the King knew well enough that a marriage consummated cannot be dissolved.

³⁾ Possibly his friend Bishop Tunstall (Stapleton, 63-67, 207) had communicated to him his opinion of the supremacy of the General Council : Constant, 520.

⁴⁾ MoreW, 1427; *LPHS*, VII, 289; Sander, 566, 568; Roper, 66-68; Blunt, I, 246; Gairdner, 79-80; Harps., 158-160; &c. Chancellor Sir Thomas Audley taxed his predecessor with having suggested himself to the King those passages about Papal Supremacy : Snell, II, 107; Strype, V, 523; Chambers, 193-96; Constant, 520.

⁵⁾ Sander, 568; MoreW, 1427, 2; Pastor, IV, ii, 515-16; Gasq*Veille*, I, 99-104; Scapleton, 51, 291^{bis}-292^{bis}; Strype, I, 292, V, 524.

about him wherever an evil could be prevented or an advantage reached. More was essentially a reformer : not only in studies, in which he introduced Greek ¹⁾; or in political economy, suggesting the many principles and ideas of his *Utopia* of 1516, of which the pertinence has been most drastically illustrated in the turmoil of recent events; but above all in religion : he denounced all abuses and wrong conceptions that had found their way into the Church, in so far that he took under his protection the *Laus Stultitiae*, which Erasmus composed under his roof. Still More was not a reformer of right laws or of discipline, and he therefore did not give way to the whims of his King, who, no doubt, had expected to find most subservient the censorious Chancellor whom he had helped on in his ascent to the highest position in the country. To be sure, More glorified in his talents, and duly appreciated royal favour and his eminent post, but they did not make him a tool in Henry's hand, nor even a seconder of his views : his reform was based on truth and common sense, and not on ambition or cupidity. He thus greatly disappointed his Monarch ²⁾, who, in his anger, resolved to ruin him. He therefore was thrust into the trial of the Nun of Kent ³⁾, but as nothing could be proved against him, Henry was advised to omit More's name from the *Bill of Attainder*, which he did in March 1534, much to his vexation, consoling himself with the certainty that, as Audley, the new Chancellor, remarked, some other charge would soon be contrived to suit his purpose ⁴⁾. By his cleverness More had averted the danger once, but he felt that it would not save him from Henry's whimsical wilfulness and relentless cruelty, which he knew from having been his intimate friend; nor did he ignore the unscrupulous malice of the royal secretary Cromwell. He was so certain of his

¹⁾ In 1515 he took Erasmus' defence against Martin van Dorp, Louvain Theologian, who amongst other things, had declared that the knowledge of Greek was not necessary in studies of theology or exegesis : the *Apologia pro Moria* he wrote is as the gospel of humanism : *MonHL*, 154-159.

²⁾ Cp. before, p. 8.

³⁾ Cromwell and Audley had insidiously connected the case of Mary Barton and her favourers with the acknowledgment of Royal Supremacy : Sampson, 241, *sq*; Delcourt, 358, *sq*; Strype, I, 285-86, V, 517-526; Constant, 148, 520; Harps., 155-65; Chambers, 294-300.

⁴⁾ Sampson, 249, *sq*; Blunt, I, 416; Gairdner, 147.

impending discomfiture that he asked his old friend the royal usher, to come and act his arrestation at Chelsea, so as to prepare his wife and children to the calamity he could not stave off ¹⁾. He felt absolutely helpless, and, with that, appallingly solitary : he could not expect any encouragement from his countrymen, who were all frightened into humble submission, whereas the nobility proved far from chivalrous and the clergy servilely subservient ²⁾. Nor was anything to be hoped for from abroad, for if the Pope should finally want to interfere, he might appeal in vain to the monarchs : the natural protector of the Church, Charles V, would evidently not like the risk of causing Henry VIII to become the frank ally of Francis I with whom he was in bitter war ³⁾. Humanly speaking, More could not look out for the satisfaction of inspiring by his example another man to become a martyr for the prerogatives of the Roman See ⁴⁾, which could no longer launch the excommunication against a flagrant offender, for want of assurance that it would prove more than an idle threat ⁵⁾.

More had not even the consolation of being understood and backed by his own family, in which there was only his favourite daughter Margaret who appreciated and encouraged him ⁶⁾. It was not the least of his trials to have to withstand the requests of his wife and children urging him to follow the example of the whole Church of England and their own, and give satisfaction to the King by an oath to which he could add in his mind the evasion ' for as far as would stand with the law of God ' ⁷⁾; he thus would save himself, they argued, and themselves too. In fact, it was a most painful trial for the loving husband and the most loving father that More was, because his condemnation entailed poverty and want

¹⁾ Stapleton, 288-289; Audin, 304.

²⁾ Jusserand, 154-156, 186; see further p. 20.

³⁾ *PollHen.*, 321-323; cp. note to *Ordo*, 109-116.

⁴⁾ Except, evidently, such men as were compelled to choose between martyrdom or ignominy, as was the case for the abbots of Woburn and Colchester : Gairdner, 209-211; cp. Stapleton, 349.

⁵⁾ Gairdner, 163.

⁶⁾ Constant, 145-146, 522-524; Stapleton, 294, *sq.*, 307, 330, *sq.*

⁷⁾ Gairdner, 149; Stapleton, 289^{bis}-295; Stokesley, the bishop of London, tried in vain to make More change his view; so did even Cranmer : Constant, 515; Strype*Cra.*, I, 37-40; Sand*Orig*², 131-32.

for his dear ones; even before his sentence they were actually stripped of some of their lands ¹⁾, and, to his poignant regret, Lady More had to sell her wardrobe to maintain him in the Tower ²⁾. It was the consciousness of being severed from all he had been clinging to, and the dread of the consequences for his family, that made the leaving his home on April 13, 1534, when summoned to Lambeth, by far the most acute of his griefs. He broke away from the house without bidding good-bye, as if doubting his strength, and it was only when the boat that took him to the Archbishop's Palace had gone a good part of the way that he mastered himself, and could whisper to his son-in-law Roper : ' I thank our Lord : the field is won ' ³⁾ !

Victory, no doubt, was gained by More's loyalty to truth, which could not make him speak or act against his mind; for him, no mental reservation was invested with the power of justifying a cowardly shrinking from veracity ⁴⁾. Moreover the special relation in which he stood towards the King, made truthfulness more imperious. Whereas he treated Wolsey and Cromwell as his tools, Henry VIII considered More what everybody considered him, as the best man alive ⁵⁾. He dreaded the disapproval of the human being that had the highest reputation at that time, and he probably expected that the enormity and loathfulness of a traitor's death would have scared the adviser who, fourteen years before, had wished him to tone down his exuberant veneration for the Papal See. If More's resistance could be vanquished, he was certain of his nation's acquiescence; that explains the trouble taken to prevent the ex-Chancellor's rash decision and the facilities offered to him to save appearances and forego the terrible execution ⁶⁾. But More was fully aware

¹⁾ The King took away all the lands he had given to More : cp. note to *Ordo*, 5; at More's execution his wife was expelled from her house : Stapleton, 347.

²⁾ Jusserand, 154-155 : the weekly expenses amounted to fifteen shillings.

³⁾ Sampson, 251; Stapleton, 290; Constant, 143-144.

⁴⁾ *Last Lett.*, xvii.

⁵⁾ Henry VIII never showed to any man as much appreciation and affection as he did to More : Stapleton, 344; Froude, II, 261; Sand-*Orig*², 32.

⁶⁾ Stapleton, 304-06, 308-9, 310-17, 320; Strype*Cra.*, I, 37-40, II,

of the conclusive influence of his resolve on the future of his King and country : he knew that the encouragement of his approval, or apparent approval, would rush on the defection from the Roman Court, which could not possibly grant what Henry VIII desired, as was evident. More foresaw that, on the heels of defection, would follow heresy, of which he had already witnessed the presages ¹⁾, and he knew that the spoils of the suppressed abbeys would estrange the greedy nobility for ever from Rome. It implied even more than England's schism and apostasy : he was too well acquainted with the state of things in Germany to understand that the example of Henry and his subservient nation would encourage revolt there ²⁾ and lead to a new civil war, which, with the growing danger of a Turkish invasion, would expose a large part of Christianity to ruin, and cause it to be severed for good from Church and Faith. Far from helping to bring those disasters on humanity, More accepted to die a martyr, though he feared and dreaded it, sensitive and life-loving as he was.

Indeed, even after having taken his final decision, More did not go foolhardily to his death, and certainly did he not court martyrdom, which, in a way, was as the contradiction of the principle of absolute freedom from all external constraint for religious conviction, of which he had been a most decided protagonist. He had laid down in his *Utopia* as fundamental truth that 'one cannot command one's belief' ³⁾, and he deduced from it that nobody should be molested on that account, unless he should cause trouble or sedition in the commonwealth ⁴⁾. Not only did he propound that principle, but he lived up to it, even during his chancel-

693-94; MoreW, 1428; Bémont, 71-72; Froude, II, 259-60, 285-86; Constant, 144. Cranmer even suggested to let More and Fisher take the oath on a modified formula.

¹⁾ More knew for certain that Henry VIII underhand favoured heretics such as Frith, Barnes, Bayfield, and even Tyndale — as they might help him in his struggle against the Church : Gairdner, 125-28; PollCra., 98; Harps., 68-71, 138.

²⁾ Henry's open revolt against Clement VII and Paul III, greatly influenced the German Reformers, who had almost accepted the overtures of Francis I and of Cardinal du Bellay to return to the obedience of Rome : Froude, II, 290-97 ; Constant, 515.

³⁾ Sampson, 414 : ne sua cuiquam religio fraudi sit ; Jusserand, 87-88, 418.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Ordo*, note to l. 92.

lorship, although already then he had started refuting heretics. If he had to proceed against them by dint of the laws, which, in virtue of his office, he had to apply, he did so with justice ¹⁾ and humanity ²⁾, expressing more than once his considerateness for those he had to prosecute ³⁾. And yet although he was the most radical of the English humanists, he accepted the martyrdom which he had tried to spare to others, inspired, no doubt, as he was by the golden maxim not to ask of your neighbour what you are not ready to do yourself. For it is certain that, like his friend Erasmus ⁴⁾, More was afraid of placing himself in the danger of becoming a martyr; he considered it a sin of temerity, as it implies an over-estimating of one's power; for in the agony of pain, one's courage might fail, he said, and the shame of the denial would thus be, at first, a terrible punishment for overconfidence and rashness ⁵⁾. On that account he carefully avoided whatever might have given to the King and his Court the least reason to condemn him. Where Fisher talked, argued or preached, and thus committed himself ⁶⁾, More proved the cleverest jurisprudent of his time by his silence ⁷⁾, in so far that he personally did not give any occasion to bring about conviction ⁸⁾. He was consequently chiefly tried, on the one hand, for the letters he had sent to Fisher, and which could not be produced;

¹⁾ It results e. g., from the way in which More viewed the famous case of Richard Hunne, and proposed it in his *Dialogue*: Gairdner, 32-40.

²⁾ Although criticized by heretics and by the most prejudiced Foxe (cp. Nichols, 26-28), there seems to be no evidence at all against More's humanity and equity towards heretics: Gairdner, 130-132; Stone, 362-369; Stapleton, 49-51, 88, 258-60, 315; Constant, 512-13.

³⁾ Cp. e. g., Sampson, 225.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, pp. 73-74.

⁵⁾ Chambers, 318-19; SandOrig ², 140; cp. further, p. 73.

⁶⁾ E. g., when on June 14, 1535, four clergymen of the King's Council with notaries and officials came to visit the two prisoners and put them three questions, More declined answering any of them; but Fisher repeated his former refusals and reservations, which were taken down as evidence.

⁷⁾ Stapleton, 308-312.

⁸⁾ Refusing to take the oath of Supremacy was only misprision of treason punished by imprisonment and forfeiture of goods; whereas the denial of the King's royal style and his title of head of the Church amounted to high treason, and was punished with death: Constant, 147, 526-27, 528.

and on the other, for Rich's false evidence ¹⁾; still the jury had been ordered beforehand to pronounce him guilty. He thus kept his conscience free, and, frustrating his enemies of any hold on him, he threw upon them the responsibility of the dire injustice done to the noblest man alive. That noblest man was also the most courageous; for when the jury had declared him guilty, he interrupted the judge, who was already going to bring out the unavoidable sentence; he then spoke out his mind boldly, and said what, up to then, he had concealed ²⁾, not out of fear, but out of the nice sense of uprightness by which he wished to be innocent of his own death, so as to make it a greater and more agreeable offer to Eternal Truth. Yet that death, the gruesome torture reserved to traitors, entailing the loss of fame and fortune, as well as the ruin of his family, was in itself already an immense sacrifice to the most radical of the English humanists ³⁾, to the tender-hearted and life-loving More. By it he set a sublime example to the degenerate nobility ⁴⁾ and to the English Bishops, ⁵⁾, in so far that it caused a reaction amongst the clergy ⁶⁾; and yet he brought his sacrifice with humble charity, apparently unconscious of its vastness, offering hearty thanks instead of forgiveness to those instrumental in his condemnation and in his execution, to which he walked light-heartedly, cheerfully, and with lambent humour ⁷⁾, in the calm self-possession of his heroic faith ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Gairdner, 159-160; cp. further, pp. 134, sq.

²⁾ Cp. note to *Ordo*, 168-170.

³⁾ 'Den radikalaste av de engelska humanisterna blev således martyr för sin Katolska tro': Schück, III, 170.

⁴⁾ It is said that Norfolk and Surrey laughed and joked at the trial of their kinswoman Catherine Howard; later on, Surrey's sister witnessed against him, and at his execution, 1547, the Somersets, his foes, divided even his clothes: Jusserand, 155, 186; cf. before, p. 16.

⁵⁾ Gardiner vilified the Pope and yet proclaimed himself a Catholic bishop; Cranmer sent wretches to the stake for professing a creed to which he, the husband of Osiander's niece, was himself addicted: Poll-Cra., 303, sq, 325, sq. When Cardinal Pole asserted that the King was outraging the feelings of his subjects by denying the Papal Supremacy, bishops Tunstall, of Durham, and Gardiner, of Winchester, stoutly denied a patent fact: Jusserand, 154-156, 186.

⁶⁾ Blunt, I, 425.

⁷⁾ Bacon W., 480, 865, 866.

⁸⁾ Stapleton, 272-347; Gairdner, 159, sq; Blunt, I, 415, sq, 418, sq;

* * *

That heroic composure and equanimity in the face of death, which Thomas More had most ardently wished for ¹⁾, appears before all in the trial in which the great lawyer fought the ultimate fight for life with his familiar weapons on his own ground, although against fearful odds. It follows that the report of his trial, dating from soon after his execution, is of foremost importance; at least up to recently, it was the only source of information. It exists in several texts, all of which are derived from one Latin translation of an English original, which is lost. That Latin version, edited by Erasmus, proves to have corrected, arranged and, unfortunately, also disfigured the original composition, for by a happy chance another Latin translation from that English original, copied out in the very year of More's death, has been found by the author of this book; not having been curtailed in any way, it gives an adequate idea of the most important original report. A study about the author of the English original, and that of the 'vulgate' Latin version, as well as a history and a comparison of its various translations, is supplied here as introduction to the newly discovered text.

B. THE REPORT OF MORE'S DEATH

Henry VIII's ruthless proceedings against the most venerable men of his realm, were followed with deep concern on the continent, where Bishop Fisher's writings were known ²⁾, and where Thomas More had introduced England to the great literary public by his *Utopia* ³⁾. On May 10, 1534,

Sander, 566-568; SandOrig¹, 73 v-84 r; SandOrig², 118, sq, 131, sq; Ortroty, 287, 290-294, 302, 320, 368-369; Pastor, IV, ii, 515-16, V, 678-683; Froude, II, 277, sq; Constant, 150, sq, 581, sq; Nichols, 282; PollCra., 78, sq; PollHen., 331-334; &c.

¹⁾ Cp. his remark to Margaret Roper on seeing Master Reynolds and three Carthusians 'cherfullye goinge to their deatheas as bridgroomes to their marriages': Sampson, 256-57; Harps., 347.

²⁾ Cp. Kerker, 144-176; CorpCath., IX, ix, sq.

³⁾ Jusserand, 91-2, 149; GasqPole, 69-70; ShakEngl., II, 193; Saints-bury, 49, 86, 238, 388 (*Utopia* is said to be more European than English);

Vives mentioned their imprisonment to Erasmus ¹⁾, and so did, on June 25, Nicolas Olah, Queen Mary of Hungary's secretary ²⁾, to whom Livinus Ammonius, Carthusian of Val-Roy, applied, on July 7, for trustworthy news ³⁾, and Camillus Gilinus, secretary of the Duke of Milan, communicated his presentiment on October 12 ⁴⁾. On July 25, and again on December 10, 1534, John Choler asked Erasmus for some information about *his* More, 'Morum tuum' ⁵⁾, evidently considering him as the first man who would hear about the fate of their English friend ⁶⁾.

The report of the sad events probably soon reached the Netherlands on account of the brisk business and financial connections, especially with Antwerp, where, on Friday July 9, 1535, it was known that the King had ordered, on Monday, July 5, to behead More ⁷⁾. The latter had awakened here a great interest and secured many friends, such as Vives ⁸⁾ and Francis de Cranevelt ⁹⁾, during his frequent visits. In 1515, and again in 1520, he had resided some time in Bruges and in Antwerp on the mission of settling difficulties between the English and the Hanseatic merchants; he had also been sent on embassy to Bruges in 1521, and again to Amiens in 1527, where he negotiated an alliance between Charles V and Henry VIII, whereas, in 1529, he had represented the King at the signing of the 'Ladies' Peace'

&c. — Copies of XVIth century books occasionally attest More's widespread fame : in the Munich library there is the copy of *G. Rossei Opus Elegans*, 1523 dedicated to John Eck, and the copy of John Eck's, *Enchiridion*, 1526, inscribed to More, now belongs to the British Museum : *CorpCath.*, II, 60; XVI, *xcii*.

¹⁾ VO, II, 976; Allen, X, 2932, 32.

²⁾ FG, 248, 5; OlaE, 509; *Cran.*, 275, a; Allen, VIII, 2339, *pr*.

³⁾ OlaE, 514; *Cran.*, 291, *a-c*.

⁴⁾ OlaE, 533.

⁵⁾ FG, 254, 34-39 : nihil æque intelligere gestio quam Mori tui tragediam quam catastrophem nacta sit.

⁶⁾ FG, 249, 22-40, 256, 2.

⁷⁾ A letter dated from Antwerp, *LPH8*, VIII, 1012, mentions the King's order.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, *lxxxvii-xcii*: &c; *MonHL*, 6, *sq*, 19, *sq*; Chambers, 106, *sq*, 177, 217.

⁹⁾ *Cran.*, *lxxxvii*, *sq*, 115, *pr*, 151, *pr*, 269, *pr*, &c; Chambers, 217-18. More made his acquaintance at Bruges where Cranevelt was Town Pensionary until 1522, when he became a Member of the Great Council of Mechlin; he repeatedly visited him there.

of Cambrai ¹⁾. It was not a mere accident that his *Utopia* was connected with this country, where he gained a first-hand acquaintance with a foreign nation ²⁾, of which he debated the impression with Erasmus and other friends in Peter Gilles' Antwerp office ³⁾, as well as in John Paludanus' narrow College-study ⁴⁾, and in Jerome de Busleyden's sumptuous palace ⁵⁾, before it was expressed, and printed by Thierry Martens at Louvain ⁶⁾. One of his friends there was Conrad Goclenius, Latin professor of the *Trilingue* ⁷⁾, who had been introduced to him by Erasmus in the summer of 1521 ⁸⁾, and who had inscribed to him his *Hermotimus*, on October 29, 1522 ⁹⁾; a close connection had started between them, thanks to Erasmus' amanuenses, who regularly went from Basle or Freiburg to England and back, with most intimate and confidential messages ¹⁰⁾. On August 10, 1535, Goclenius had just made ready a letter to Erasmus, and was going to dispatch it by Lambert Coomans ¹¹⁾, whom, in answer to his request, he had recruited as servant, when a Thomas Theo-

¹⁾ Chambers, 118-120, 174-75, 197, 229-235, &c; *TrevPap.*, I, 154-55; *Cran.*, 11, 115, e, &c.

²⁾ *CHEL*, III, 18.

³⁾ Peter Gilles, *Ægidii* (1486-1533), Antwerp *graphiarius*, was one of the leading humanists of his day and a clever jurispudent; he was several times More's host : *Cran.*, 159, a-f.

⁴⁾ John Paludanus, des Marais (+1526) was professor of Rhetoric and head of St. Donatian College in Louvain; he was Erasmus' great friend and protector : *Cran.*, 1, c.

⁵⁾ Jerome de Busleyden (1470-1517), councillor of Mechlin Great Council, founder of the *Collegium Trilingue* in Louvain : *NèveMém.*, 37, sq; *Cran.*, lvi.

⁶⁾ Thierry Martens of Alost (c. 1450-1534) printed in Louvain from 1498 to 1501 and from 1512 to 1529 : Iseghem, 135, 139, 267-69; *Cran.*, 135, 14.

⁷⁾ Conrad Wackers, Goclenius (1489/90 - 1539) was appointed in Louvain on Dec. 1, 1519 : *Cran.*, 95, c-f; Stapleton, 76-77.

⁸⁾ Allen, IV, 1220

⁹⁾ *Luciani Samosatensis Hermotimus... Conrado Goclenio Interprete* : Louvain, Th. Martens, 1522 : Iseghem, 324; Allen, IV, 1209, pr; *Cran.*, 95, h; NijKron., II, 3446.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 177, 1-s, 242, 6-11; Allen, VIII, 2228, 1-3, 11-12.

¹¹⁾ EE, 1514, A; *LatCont.*, 381; *Cran.*, 95, e, 277, 1 : Coomans was at once accepted by Erasmus, and gave full satisfaction; he assisted the old scholar in his last months and received his last breath.

baldus, whom he suspected of being an agent of Henry VIII ¹⁾, called on him and related the news of More's execution. It was at once added to the letter ready written, as thus :

Sexto Nonas Julij obtruncatus est in Britania Thomas Morus non minorem constantiam in iudicio et supplicio prae se ferens quam olim iniquissimo Atheniensium senatusconsulto condemnatus Socrates, paucis diebus ante illum interfecto Episcopo Roffensj, in quem regis furor non alia causa vehementius exarsit, quam quod is in Cardinalium ordinem a Pontifice esset cooptatus ²⁾. Sed audi quod vincit omnem feritatem. Caput Roffensis indutum stipite multis diebus omnium oculis fuit expositum, quod non modo non contabuisse, verum etiam multo venerabilius esse factum ferebatur. Ubi is rumor percrebuit, mox amotum est loco, et ne quid in Mori capite existeret, quo populus religione turbaretur, audi iam facinus immanissimum : renouata est Thyestea fabula, et caput eius non nisi longa coctura maceratum, quo celerius diffliceret, hastili est impositum ³⁾. Causae feruntur tres : Noluit iurare, secundum formulam Luterj, se credere nullum esse ius Pontificij in rebus ecclesiasticis, sed regem Angliae esse caput ecclesiae Anglicanae. Vltimum matrimonium rite factum, priorem vxorem recte repudiatam. Tertio afferebantur literae ad Roffensem scriptae vt vel dux esset vel comes ad fortiter pro veritate occumbendum. Se enim paratum esse ipsam vitam vero impendere. Quod ille se fecisse, et recte fecisse asseuerabat. Jtaque iudicum sententia vir optimus exitum vitae quem dixi est sortitus. Vbj habuero compertiora faciam te de omnibus certiore. Fuit apud me quidam Thomas Theobaldus, quem in his regionibus suspicor esse exploratorem nomine regis ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ He probably was identical with the Thomas Tebold, who, in March 1536, wrote from Berne to England to express his surprise that no answer was made to a report of More's and Fisher's death which he ascribed to Erasmus : *LPH8*, X, 458 ; cp. further, p. 88.

²⁾ EE, 1509, c ; Harps., 360-1 ; Bémont, 71. Cp. further pp. 164, 202.

³⁾ *FriedNunt.*, I, 518 ; Constant, 582.

⁴⁾ *GoclE*, f 16 r. Goclenius added further that Theobaldus had told

Erasmus, meanwhile, had heard the rumour of the execution of his two friends on August 18 ¹⁾, although, on August 24, he was only certain of Fisher's ²⁾; the sad truth reached him through Goclenius' letter, unless the one which Tilman a Fossa sent him from Cologne on August 17, reached him before ³⁾. He at once ordered the passage of Goclenius' letter about the martyrdom to be copied, so as to pass it on to friends : one of these transcripts is still found at Basle ⁴⁾; another was sent to Peter Tomiczki, Bishop of Cracow ⁵⁾, on August 31, 1535, along with a letter that introduces it : ' In Anglia quid acciderit Episcopo Roffensi, ac Thomae Moro, quo hominum jugo nunquam habuit Anglia quicquam sanctius aut melius, ex fragmento epistolae, quod ad te mitto, cognosces. In Moro mihi videor extinctus, adeo μία ψυχή juxta Pythagoram duobus erat ' ⁶⁾.

* * *

Charles V was informed of the event by his ambassador

him that he had heard from Thomas Bedillus, Bedyll — the clerk of the Royal Council, who was used by Henry VIII in the affair of the Divorce, and had taken part in More's and Fisher's condemnation — that he had sent to Erasmus his pension, and that it would be continued. On September 2, 1535 Erasmus replied to Goclenius, that the sending of the pension by Bedyll was ἀνεμύλιον : EE, 1518, F.

¹⁾ On August 18, 1535 he wrote to Damian a Goes, who had just left him to go to Italy, that those who came from Brabant announced the death of his two friends : EE, 1507, F. Cp. *MonHL*, 611, sq, 615, sq; *ErasLaur.*, I, 666.

²⁾ On August 24, 1535 he wrote to Bartholomew Masson, *Latomus*, professor of Latin in Paris, that he was not certain of More's death : EE, 1509, c, D. Cp. *MonHL*, 456-57.

³⁾ Tilman a Fossa, of Cologne (cp. further p. 67), sent word that the bookseller Arnold Birckman had returned from England, where he had witnessed part of the tragedy : 'Non dubito', he added, 'quin vel scripta acceperis vel fama istuc pervolarit, quæ nunciando tristia velox esse solet' : FG, 267, 28-32.

⁴⁾ GoclE, 14 r; the passage copied is marked in the original, on f 16 r, by a line in the margin, probably by Erasmus.

⁵⁾ Peter Tomiczki (c1465-Oct. 29, 1535) was since April 6, 1524, bishop of Cracow : he was Erasmus' friend and protector from December 1527 : Allen, VII, 1919, pr; *ErasLaur.*, I, 666.

⁶⁾ EE, 1518, A, B.

in England Eustace Chapuys ¹), who, on May 5, 1535, mentioned More's being in prison; on July 11, and again on July 25, he announced his execution, with much reserve ²); the news greatly affected the monarch, and so it did King Francis I ³). The latter may have heard of the martyrdom from the Bishop of Faenza, who officiated at the time as Papal Nuncio in Paris, and announced it on July 24 to a friend in Italy, M. Ambrogio; no doubt, also to Pope Paul III ⁴). Under the deep emotion of the event, the Holy Father and the Cardinals decided to resort to the repressive measures which had been put off too long ⁵), and Reginald Pole ⁶), who was then at work at his *Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione*, a subject which he had been advised to study

¹) Eustace Chapuys, son of Louis, and Gingona du Puits, born at Annecy, Savoy, in 1499, promoted J. V. D., and got some ecclesiastical preferments in the service of Duke Charles of Savoy and of two bishops of Geneva. He was in Charles of Bourbon's employ at his death and was appointed Councillor and Master of Requests by Charles V on July 1, 1527. In 1529 he was sent to England and remained there until 1546 when he retired to Louvain; he died there on Jan. 21, 1556, having founded a school at Annecy and a College in his Louvain mansion, Savoy College : FUL, 2849-54, 2884; *MonHL*, 37-38 and sources quoted there; Gairdner, 113, 126, 161, 172; *Et. & Aud.*, 376 : 79-173; 377 : 1-154; *Cart. & Man.*, 1872 (reports of emb.); Agrip E, 114-5, 124, 324; *ULDoc.*, III, 230-35; Chapuys, whom his friends called *Vulpecula* (*BbUpps.*, MS. H 154 : 144), became Erasmus' friend and protector in the winter of 1532-33 : EE, 1466, B-1467, c; *Erasmiana*, IV, 835-38; FG, 325; at the death of his amanuensis Clauthus in England, he saw to the safety of what had been entrusted to him : GoclE, 12 r.

²) *LPH8*, VIII, 666, 1019, 1105; Stone, 75.

³) Stapleton, 359; Ortrov, 353-355; *LPH8*, VIII, 1141 (the Nuncio has seen tears in Francis I's eyes), IX, 15; Constant, 533-34; *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*, II, *The Reformation* (Cambridge, 1904) : 443-444.

⁴) *LPH8*, VIII, 1104; the Bishop of Faenza, French Nuncio, had also announced to the Pope the death of Fisher; whereas the promise of Francis I to plead for him had given some hope, the news of the execution, which reached Rome on July 26, deeply moved Paul III and the Cardinals. By the end of July the death of More was known in Rome, also through the Nuncio : Pastor, V, 680-681.

⁵) *SandOrig* ², 147-153; Pastor, V, 680-683; Ortrov, 352-355; Froude, II, 277-280, 283; Gairdner, 161-63.

⁶) Reginald Pole (1500-1558), second cousin to Henry VIII, was sent by him to study in Italy, at Padua from 1521 to 1527 : GasqPole, 15, 17-20; he returned to Padua in 1532 : GasqPole, 111; and was requested by the King to express his views on the Divorce and the origin of the Primacy.

by More himself ¹⁾, expressed at length his boundless admiration for his friend and the bitter grief which his death caused to him ²⁾ and to all the people around him ³⁾. That grief was felt by all those who knew and valued the martyrs throughout Europe ⁴⁾; if the greater part of their countrymen were obliged to hide it for fear of reprisals in Henry's reign ⁵⁾, it was boldly shown in all the countries of the Christian world ⁶⁾. Thus one of the leading divines of Germany, John Cochlaeus ⁷⁾, composed a *Defensio Joannis Episcopi Roffensis et Thomae Mori* ⁸⁾, and the chief Latin poet of those days, Janus Secundus ⁹⁾, wrote one of his most impressive *Naeniae* in his memory ¹⁰⁾; whereas to all appearances the Scotch humanist George Buchanan ¹¹⁾ symbolized, or at

¹⁾ Pole, 51, 12; on March 8, 1536, Gregorio Cortese mentions More's and Fisher's death in a letter to Gasparo Contarini : ContarE, 84.

²⁾ The fourth chapter of the third book of *Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione* is taken up by More's eulogy : Pole, 99-101; that treatise itself was begun as a protestation against his and Fisher's confinement : SchelAmHist., I, 129, 52, 211-213. Cp. Gairdner, 183; Pole, 97; Constant, 528-529, 533-34; Audin, 395-396.

³⁾ Stapleton, 333, 319, in which Pole's narration of More's death is quoted as the chief of his sources.

⁴⁾ E.g., it brought tears into the eyes of the Venice councillors : SchelAmHist., I, 212-213; cp. Froude, II, 280-283; Constant, 151-153, 533-536; Audin, 396-402; Saintsbury, 388.

⁵⁾ The family of Thomas More were cruelly persecuted for several years : Stapleton, 347-348; Harps., 355; Chambers, 290.

⁶⁾ E.g., K. Höhlbaum, *Das Buch Weinsberg*, I : Leipzig, 1886 : 93, 111; FG, 274, 1-4; Stapleton, 333; LPH8, IX, 658, 213, 243, 449; Harps., I, 356; FriedNunt., I, 518; Bridget, *Life of Fisher* : London, 1888, chapt. XIX; N. Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*: Freiburg i. Br., 1915 : 232.

⁷⁾ John Dobneck, *Cochlaeus* (c 1479-1552), dean of Frankfurt, a great controversialist : Allen, VII, 1863; *CorpCath.*, III, XV, XVII, XVIII; *CochSpahn*; *CochOtto*; &c. — He was greatly affected by the news of More's death : Stapleton, 73, 74, 200.

⁸⁾ It was directed against *Oratio de Dignitate et Potestate Regia* [1535] of Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and was printed in 1536 : Strype, I, 242, sq. V, 483, sq; *CochSpahn*, 258, 359; Constant, 220, sq, 533.

⁹⁾ Janus Secundus Nicolai (1511-Sept. 24, 1536) was famous as poet and was remarkable also as medallist : cp. further, *App.* I, a.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. further, *App.* I, a, b.

¹¹⁾ George Buchanan (1506-82), having studied in Paris, was appointed tutor by James V to a natural son of his in 1536; he wrote satyres on the Franciscans and their morals, which caused him to be condemned; he escaped from prison and taught Latin at Bordeaux from 1540 to 1543.

least alluded to, More's death in his *Baptistes*, acted at Bordeaux in 1540 ¹⁾, although he himself was partial to Reform. Indeed if not Luther ²⁾ or Bucer ³⁾, for certain the most humane amongst the Reformers, like Melanchthon ⁴⁾ and Dolet ⁵⁾, made no secret of their regret at hearing of the sad event; whilst many others, who were blinded with their hatred, thought that they saw God's hand punishing their enemies ⁶⁾ in their best and worthiest men ⁷⁾, — which they gave as answer to the many that thought More 'was severely dealt with, and might have been winked at, considering the eminency of his person, and the good service he had done his king before' ⁸⁾.

Many an educated man in England could not help sympa-

He afterwards taught in Portugal, France and his native country Scotland and wrote venomous attacks on Queen Mary Stuart : *DNB*.

¹⁾ Creizenach, II, 427-429; *CHEL*, III, 16.

²⁾ When relating, in the beginning of December 1535, the vexation shown by the Legate Paolo Vergerio on mentioning More's and Fisher's death at the interview of November 7, 1535, Luther remarked to Melanchthon : 'Utinam haberent plures reges Angliæ qui illos <Cardinales, Papas et Legatos> occiderent' : Wette, IV, 655; Grisar, II, 55, 355, III, 92, 727; *CorpRef.*, II, 928.

³⁾ Letter to Schwebel, about the end of 1535 : *Centuria Epistolarum Theologicarum ad Schwebelium* : Zweibrücken, 1597 : 283; *PaulTol.*, 129.

⁴⁾ He dedicated his *Loci Theologici* to Henry VIII with great praise in August 1535; on August 31, he mentioned More's death to Joachim Camerarius, and in another letter to the same, December 24, 1535, he expressed his grief on account of that execution : *LPH8*, IX, 222, 1013; *PaulTol.*, 63.

⁵⁾ Although he had introduced More maliciously in his *De Imitatione Ciceroniana*, Dolet stood up for him against Nicolas Bourbon, who favoured Anne Boleyn; he also expressed his regret at his death in his *Commentariorum Linguae Latinae Tomus Primus* (Lyons, 1536) : *Dolet*, 36-37, 209-12, 249, 259, 318-19, 518; *EE*, 1514, A.

⁶⁾ Froude, II, 277, *sq*; *SchelAmLit.*, I, 131; Strype, I, 321-327; Nichols, 26, 28, 282; Gough, 546; Foxe, in his *Acts and Monuments*, insists on the cruel animosity with which More prosecuted heresy and heretics : yet his inaccuracy, his unreliability and even his dishonesty is pointed out by Wood, I, 591-92; Stone, 365-72, 389-93; Maitland, 409, *sq*; Gairdner, 50-58; Jusserand, 265-66; Bémont, 39; Constant, 287. Equally unfair is John Bale in his notices : *BaleSum.*, 219v-220v; *BaleCat.*, 655-656; *BaleInd.*, 445-47; cp. note to *Ordo*, 92.

⁷⁾ Ortrov, 334; cp. the letter of Morelet du Museau to Nic. Berauld, August 9, 1535 : Herminjard, III, 197.

⁸⁾ Strype, I, 321.

thizing fully with More ¹⁾; and the nation was not so degenerated that people did not feel a martyr's heroism when they beheld it ²⁾; the emotion that pervaded the country was such that Cromwell tried to have the murder justified without delay from the pulpits ³⁾: he therefore ordered a special sermon to that effect to be delivered at first at St. Paul's by Simon Matthew on June 27, 1535 ⁴⁾. Not trusting himself to the clergy, the King directed the magistrates at the quarter-sessions to declare that the late More and Fisher had intended breeding a most seditious opinion, and had already influenced some monks who had been executed on that account ⁵⁾. On the other hand, all those who showed any sympathy with More or Fisher exposed themselves to prosecutions ⁶⁾, and all endeavours were tried by authority to prevent that their memory should be kept like that of martyrs, by destroying what might serve as relic or keepsake ⁷⁾, and denying even a decent tomb to their bodies. Yet notwithstanding all searching, they did not find the head of Thomas More ⁸⁾, whereas his hair-shirt has stood the test of four centuries ⁹⁾; so has also the sympathy and

¹⁾ An English chronicler stated: '<Mori> similis mallem esse et pendere in aculeo quam talis rex esse et sedere in solio': Bémont, 71-73, 118-19.

²⁾ Stapleton, 348; Brewer, 429. ³⁾ Jusserand, 186; Froude, II, 289.

⁴⁾ Gasq*Veille*, I, 105-107.

⁵⁾ Froude, II, 280-281.

⁶⁾ Thus, in June 1536, the sub-prior of Woburn was compelled to ask for pardon for his erroneous estimation of More and Fisher: *LPH8*, X, 1289. — On August 14, 1536 Sir John Gage, Justice of the Peace, accused a William Ferall, of Eastbourne, of having said that it was a pity Fisher and More took such opinions: *LPH8*, XI, 300. — On September 23, 1536, a John Heseham was committed for having declared that Fisher and More died martyrs, and that the King was not the spiritual head of the Church of England: *LPH8*, XI, 486. — In the following year praising More as martyr is a cause of condemnation: *LPH8*, XII², 518. — In 1539 John Beache, the venerable abbot of St. John's, Colchester, was executed, having been attainted, amongst other things, for extolling More and Fisher as holy martyrs: Gasq*Mon.*, II, 360-61, 365; Blunt, I, 345.

⁷⁾ Stapleton, 53, states that Cromwell destroyed More's fine collection of books and his papers.

⁸⁾ Thomas More's head was procured from London Bridge to Margaret Roper; it was placed in her arms after her death, and buried with her in St. Dunstan's Church, Canterbury: A. R. Pennington, *The Life and Character of Erasmus*: London, 1875; 358; cp. however Constant, 532.

⁹⁾ Thomas More's hair-shirt and his rosary were taken to Brabant by Margaret Gyge, married to John Clement: Stapleton, 95, 339; and, being

popularity that has attached to him for his wit, his humane-ness, and even more, for the cruel treatment that befell his upright and kindly character ¹⁾, although he was pursued even after death by cruel abuse and unrebuked attack.

As the indignation abroad at More's death was equally alarming, the various English agents were ordered to counteract it by all means ²⁾; and the ambassadors at the various courts — even Sir Gregory Casale, in Rome, — were enjoined to state that More and Fisher had been punished for having hatched a sedition, and had continued doing so even during their imprisonment ³⁾; moreover, that written proofs about that evil design had been found, and that confessions had been gathered from their own lips ⁴⁾. Even the King, when sending his envoy, the Bishop of Hereford Edward Fox, to the German Protestants, entrusted him with messages in which his two noble victims were represented as contemptors of the Gospel; More, moreover, was depicted as a ferocious and cruel man, who had invented horrible tortures to chastize those whom he saw inclined towards the evangelical truth ⁵⁾; he was represented as 'earth-born', as 'capriciously raised by fortune to a false position of wealth and dignity', as 'a tyrant, and in a manner

given to their daughter Margaret Clement, they were kept in St. Ursula's convent in Louvain and afterwards in St. Monica's, until the order reopened their Convent at Newton Abbot : Gestel, I, 175; Guilday, 878-85; Chambers, 845, 857-8.

¹⁾ Cp. e. g., G. C. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*: Stratford-upon-Avon. 1913 : 113, 119, 122, 155, 202, 218, 282-284; Brewer, 429; Snell, II, 107, 108, 112.

²⁾ On May 8, 1536 Sir Gregory Casale wrote to Cromwell that a friend of More's, one Philip, was trying to get an office from the Pope and the Emperor, on the statement of having been persecuted : *LPH8*, X, 796. — In July 1536 the agent Starkey informs Cromwell that Reginald Pole has changed his opinions about the King after More and Fisher had testified to their creed by their blood; on September 4 or 5 of the same year, he tries to make Pole believe that More, Rochester, Reynolds and the others suffered as the result of their own folly : they merely died for a superstition, and he thinks that no wise man will ever do so hereafter : *LPH8*, XI, 78, 402.

³⁾ Froude, II, 280-283.

⁴⁾ Ortrov, 320; *LPH8*, IX, 213, 240; Froude, II, 281-287.

⁵⁾ P. Friedmann, *Anne Boleyn* : London, 1884 : II, 87, 94-100; Froude, II, 292-293; Constant, 152, 584-585; Ortrov, 320; Gairdner, 180-82.

hateful in the sight of God' ¹⁾). It has been considered as the greatest praise possible that those champions of truth were more formidable to the King through their deaths than they had been during their lives.

C. WRITTEN ACCOUNTS OF MORE'S EXECUTION

Considering the great interest taken in the martyrdom of More and Fisher, it is most natural that one or other of those who had witnessed the events, made a report of it, so as to communicate it to friends in the country or abroad. Such a report is already mentioned before the end of July in Paris. The Papal Nuncio, Rodolpho Pio de Carpi, Bishop of Faenza ²⁾, who, on July 24, announced More's execution to his friend in Italy, M. Ambrogio ³⁾, wrote to him on July 29 ⁴⁾ that he had received that day a circumstantial relation of the execution from Anne de Montmorency, Count of Beaumont, Grand Master of the Royal Household. That relation must have just reached Montmorency, for when on July 26, he wrote to Cardinal du Bellay, he related that Charles de Sohiers, Lord of Morette, had not brought any news on his return from England, except that of More's and Fisher's death, which the Cardinal had heard of before he left the Court ⁵⁾. Evidently if the Lord of Morette had brought to Paris a written report of the events, his master Montmorency would have known and have informed du Bellay, judging from the eagerness with which he passed on the document, not only to the Papal Nuncio, but also to the at least suspicious English Orator, Sir John Wallop ⁶⁾, to whom he had even promised a transcription ⁷⁾. The Nuncio did not lose any time in having the relation copied and translated into Italian, as he wrote to Ambrogio, so as to send it to Italy, where it soon spread, and possibly found its way into

¹⁾ Froude, II, 260-61; *A Famous School Book of Erasmus* : in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, CCC : London, 1906 : 167.

²⁾ Pastor, V, 58, *sq.* &c.

³⁾ *LPH8*, VIII, 1104.

⁴⁾ *LPH8*, VIII, 1141.

⁵⁾ *LPH8*, VIII, 1114, also 996.

⁶⁾ *DNB*; *MonHL*, 8, 10.

⁷⁾ Strype, V, 575.

F. de Belleforest's *Letters of Princes*, through a letter of Nicolas Cardinal of Capua, who may have received that report ¹). The Nuncio particularly mentioned the deep impression the report made on Francis I, in whose eyes he saw tears; on a former occasion the King had shown his indignation at the treatment of Fisher and More ²); now he unequivocally expressed his displeasure on hearing of their execution ³). Henry VIII therefore judged it necessary to have his conduct explained by his ambassador Sir John Wallop. Cromwell accordingly wrote to the latter on August 23, 1535 ⁴), and referred to the report then circulating in Paris about the wrongly called 'meruelous extreme executions' of the two conspicuous men ⁵); also 'how Maister More died, & what he saied to his doughter, goyng to his judgement, & also what exhortations he shulde give unto the kynges subjects, to be trew & obedient to his grace'. Since Wallop announced that Montmorency had promised him 'a double at length' of the narration, Cromwell tells him that: 'the kynges pleasure is, that ye shal... procure the sayd double & send it hither'; and he adds that Henry is greatly dissatisfied with Francis for giving 'ear, faith & credence to any suche vayne brutes & fleing tales', for he rather should 'have compressed the bruters therof to silence, or at the leest not permytted theym to have divulged the same unto suche tyme as the king <Henry>, beyng so dere a frend, had been advertised therof, & the trewth known, before he shuld so lightly beleve

¹) Stapleton, 319, mentions as his second source, the narration 'a Nicolao Card. Capuano inter epistolas Principum per Belleforest Gallice versas': possibly it was this Italian report which Nicolas, Cardinal of Capua, sent to Marino Cardinal Carraciolo on August 12, 1535: *LPH8*, IX, 82.

²) Letter of the Bishop of Faenza to M. Ambrogio, July 4, 1535: *LPH8*, VIII, 985.

³) *LPH8*, VIII, 1121 (p. 440), 1144: Sir Gregory Casale announces to Cromwell from Ferrara on July 27 & 30 that the letters from France all mention the King's indignation at More's death; cp. *LPH8*, IX, 15.

⁴) Strype, V, 573-578; *LPH8*, IX, 240.

⁵) Cromwell tries to prove that the executions 'were not so mervelous extreme', by charging More and Fisher with 'treasons, conspiracies & practises... to sow sedition... intendyng... not only the destruction of the kyng, but also the hole subversion of his highnes realme': Strype, V, 574; *LPH8*, IX, 240.

or alledge any such reaporte', as he had done in his remonstracion ¹⁾.

* * *

Whether the report introduced into France and into Italy by Montmorency and de Carpi, was submitted to Henry VIII, cannot be ascertained; nor does it seem to have survived ²⁾, probably because after a few weeks it was ousted from the hands of sympathetic and admiring readers by a far more circumstantial account.

The first to mention that account is Conrad Goclenius, Latin professor of the *Trilingue*, who on September 28, 1535, answers to Erasmus' reply to his own letter of August 10, announcing More's death ³⁾. That reply dated from Basle, September 2 ⁴⁾, was brought to Louvain by the servant of his former pupil Balthasar de Künring, a Vienna nobleman ⁵⁾. Since that servant was familiar to Goclenius, he must have been entrusted with messages which are not expressed in Erasmus' letter — his grief at More's execution ⁶⁾, and a doubt about some of the details given. 'Quae de feritate plusquam Britannica', Goclenius answered, 'in mortui caput adscripsi ⁷⁾, ne temere addidisse putes: narravit haec Cornelius Scepperus noster pro compertissimis illa affirmans'. Cornelius de Schepper ⁸⁾ had received on the subject a most

¹⁾ Strype, V, 574-577; Froude, II, 281-282.

²⁾ Except in Belleforest's *Lettres* and Nic. Card. Capuanus' *Epistola*: cp. before p. 32.

³⁾ Cp. before pp. 23-24.

⁴⁾ EE, 1513,E-1514,B.

⁵⁾ Baron Balthasar von Künring, Coenrinck, was an inmate of the *Trilingue* from May 1529 to April 1531, and had been entrusted to Goclenius' care; he made Erasmus' acquaintance in the summer of 1535, and proceeded to Italy where he studied law at Bologna. He died prematurely in 1547: *HisTriLov.*, ch. XI.

⁶⁾ Erasmus, in his letter does not mention More, nor Fisher either, but just refers to the inexact statement of the pension paid by Thomas Bedyll: cp. pp. 24-25. Yet he wrote most impressively of his sadness about his friends to Bishop Tom'czki: cp. before p. 25.

⁷⁾ Cp. before p. 24.

⁸⁾ Cornelius de Schepper (1503-1555), after studying in Louvain, especially at the *Trilingue*, was for a time secretary to the exiled king of Denmark Christiern II, until Charles V took him into his service as councillor; he was sent as ambassador to several countries, and was the first to represent the Emperor in Constantinople: *Cran.*, 249, a-f.

circumstantial letter from his colleague Eustache Chapuys ¹⁾, and communicated the news to John Dantiscus ²⁾, their common friend, then bishop of Culm ³⁾, as well as to his former master Goclenius, to whom he may have added more details than that about the heads of the victims. Yet far more interesting information had come to the Louvain professor, for he relates in his letter : ‘ Iudicium de Thoma Moro habitum, quo mortj fuit addictus eo ordine quo mihj quidam Thomas Theobaldus rem narravit, nuper tibj literis significauj ⁴⁾. Interea res exactius ad hanc aulam est perscripta, quarum literarum mitto exemplum’ ⁵⁾. He thus could send to Erasmus by Künring’s servant a full report of the martyrdom as it had been communicated to Mary of Hungary’s Court. Although no trace of it remains in those of Goclenius’ letters that have survived ⁶⁾, and no mention is made of it in the few letters of Erasmus to Louvain that are of a more recent date, there is evidence enough to make up the history of that most important document.

¹⁾ Cp. before, p. 26 ; Chapuys was more explicit in his letters to de Schepper than in those to Charles V and Mary of Hungary.

²⁾ John von Höfen, Dantiscus (1485-1548), was for several years ambassador for Poland at the Court of Charles V; he became bishop of Culm in 1532, and of Ermeland in 1537 : *Cran.*, 57, a, 287, a; Allen, VIII, 2163, 188.

³⁾ In his letter dated from Luneburg, October 27, 1535; Dantiscus replied from Lubau, December 23, 1535 and February 24, 1536, remarking on the sad event, and referring to a letter which Paul III had written to the King of Poland on the painful subject. John Cochlaeus also announced the grievous news to Dantiscus on December 30, 1535 : *BbUpps.*, MS.H 154 : 144 ; MS.H 155 : 197 ; *BbCzart.*, MS. 244 : 49, sq ; MS. 247 : 263 ; MS. 49 : 544; Westphalen, III, 442-443.

⁴⁾ On August 10, 1535 : cp. before pp. 23-24.

⁵⁾ GoclE, 17 r.

⁶⁾ M. Audin, in his *Histoire de Henri VIII et du Schisme d'Angleterre* (Liège, 1847) : II, 116, notes to the relation of the English Martyrs that Goclenius, Erasmus’ friend, narrated some ‘ monstrueux détails de la mort de Fisher et de More. Sa lettre Mss. existe encore (l’autographe a été vendu, en 1843, dans la vente de M. van Slopen, à Paris, sous le n° 97. La lettre appartient à M....., notaire à Châlons-sur-Marne)’. — No further mention has been made of that document.



II
THE FIRST LATIN NARRATIVE
OCTOBER 1535



II. THE FIRST LATIN NARRATIVE

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A. THE NARRATIVE AND ITS EDITOR

The circumstantial report of More's death which reached the Netherlands and Mary of Hungary's court, must have been communicated to her secretary Nicolas Olah; as he was Erasmus's great admirer ¹⁾, and knew of the interest he took in the fate of his illustrious English *alter ego*, he, no doubt, procured the copy which was transmitted to Goclenius ²⁾, so as to have it passed on to Erasmus at the first opportunity. That document, dispatched from Louvain on September 28 ³⁾, was most probably in English, as thus it offered a greater authenticity and exactitude to a critical mind like that of Erasmus, who, on the other hand, had spent a sufficiently long time in England to get acquainted with the language ⁴⁾. The report reached him in the first days of October and must have greatly pleased him, for he at once made a version of it, which, although not being strictly literal, represented the facts most vividly and most efficiently. He wished to communicate the information thus gathered to all his friends and acquaintances, but disposing only of the recently engaged Lambert Coomans ⁵⁾ as amanuensis besides Gilbert Cousin, who was going to leave ⁶⁾, he had it composed and

¹⁾ Olæ, 328, 330, 378, 424, 459, 475, 491, &c; cp. *His Tri Lov.*, ch. xiv.

²⁾ Cp. before pp. 33-34; on March 12, 1534, Olah mentions several *libelli* about the Divorce received from England by the Court : Olæ, 475-76.

³⁾ Goclæ, 17 r.

⁴⁾ Cp. H. de Vocht, *Chaucer and Erasmus* (in *Englische Studien*, XLI : Leipzig, 1910) : 385-392.

⁵⁾ Cp. before p. 23; he had been in Cardinal William van Enckenvoirt's service in Rome, and was not very proficient yet in Latin.

⁶⁾ He left Erasmus in October 1534 : EE, 1514, r; cp. further, p. 65.

printed off in the office of Jerome Froben ¹⁾, with whom he had lived as guest since August. He arranged it as a newsletter, without addressee, dated as from Paris on July 23, 1535, 'X. Cal. Augusti' ²⁾, without mentioning the printer's name or his own, as it was merely the contents of the document transmitted by Goclenius that he was editing. Already on October 13, 1535, it was printed off; for the Basle bookseller John Oporinus ³⁾ wrote on that day to Thomas Blaurer, patrician and senator of Constance ⁴⁾, a letter with this postscript: 'Mitto hic tibi libellum, quo Thomae mori interitum Erasmus, quanquam dissimulato suo nomine descripsit, nuper apud nos editum. Tu animum potius mittere[m] quaeso, quam quod mittitur ⁵⁾ expendito' ⁶⁾. Erasmus sent copies to Beatus Rhenanus, as results from the letter of Abbot Paul Volz, dated from Strassburg, November 4, 1535: 'Expositiones quatuor Morianae necis [Beato] nostro Rhenano inscriptas, quam ocyssime misi' ⁷⁾: — most probably the pamphlet bore as title the name which Volz gives it: *Expositio*, which was also used later on for the enlarged edition ⁸⁾. Erasmus also transmitted a copy to Viglius a Zuichem, councillor at Speyer ⁹⁾, who on November 17,

¹⁾ In 1568, when the *Lucubrationes* of Thomas More were reprinted, the son of Jerome Froben's partner Episcopius, still had amongst his documents the manuscript of the report of More's trial and death which he could reproduce: cp. further pp. 63-65.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 530; cp. further p. 121.

³⁾ *ErAge*, 198.

⁴⁾ He was the brother of Ambrose Blaurer, or Blaarer (1492-1564), Swiss Reformer; Erasmus had known both from 1528; in August 1584 Thomas sent on two letters to Damian a Goes, who had been requested to visit him on his way to Italy: EE, 1498, D; FG, 22, 304; Herminjard, III, 129; Allen, V, 1396, *pr.*

⁵⁾ From later reprints of this report (e. g., in *MoreLuc.*, 512-520) it appears that it probably took up seven to eight small octavo pages.

⁶⁾ The original of this letter — rather damaged in some parts — reposes amongst the *Vadiana* in the Town Library of St. Gallen: MS. 82. III: 375, v; cp. Herminjard, III, 197, and *Briefwechsel der Brüder... Blaurer*, 1509-1567 (ed. T. Schiess): Freiburg, 1908-1912.

⁷⁾ FG, 274, 16-17: the edition has 'Batto', an evident misprint for 'Beato'.

⁸⁾ Cp. further p. 65. It may be the work indicated in *EraBib.*, I, 106, as '*Expositio fidelis de morte Th. Mori*, etc. 1535. 4°', without name of printer or place.

⁹⁾ Viglius a Zuichem (1507-1577), studied in Louvain and in Padua;

1535, expresses his sadness at More's execution and consolingly remarks that his glorious death is far preferable to the servitude of life-long detention ¹⁾. On December 15, 1535, the great humanist thanked his young friend Damian a Goes ²⁾ for an account — apparently of the same event — translated into Italian ³⁾, or possibly only provided, by Reginald Pole, whose acquaintance he had made at Padua ⁴⁾. 'Mitto vicissim', Erasmus added, 'historiam bonae fidei; in qua qui ex Anglia redeunt, & actis interfuerunt, negant quicquam esse falsi; nisi quod pauciores Carthusiani fuerunt affecti supplicio' ⁵⁾. It is possible that Erasmus added in writing a note about the execution of Fisher and that of the Carthusians ⁶⁾, for, from Goes' reply of January 26, 1536, it is evident that he had received the first issue of the report on More's death, and not the enlarged edition entitled *Expositio Fidelis* ⁷⁾. He thanked the great humanist for 'Thomae Mori mortis explanatione, fuit donum nobis gratissimum'.

he was Erasmus' friend, and his guest in 1534. He was appointed Imperial Councillor in 1541 and president of the Privy Council in 1549 : *Cran.*, 274, *pr.*; Allen, VIII, 2101, *pr.*

¹⁾ FG, 276, 5-8.

²⁾ Damian a Goes (1501-1574), a Portuguese nobleman, sent to Antwerp to work in the *Feitoria de Flandres*, left business and started studying in Louvain, at Basle with Erasmus, and in Italy. By 1546 he returned to Portugal and devoted his life to historical studies : *MonHL*, 611-698.

³⁾ EE, 1515, 2 : 'Italice non intelligo, sed curabo vertendum quod vertit Polus'.

⁴⁾ *MonHL*, 618; Pole's text may have been the one which the Nuncio sent from Paris in August : cp. before p. 81 ; if not a report which he had received straight from England.

⁵⁾ On May 4, 1535, three Carthusians were executed along with Dr. Richard Reynolds, of Syon Convent, and John Hale, or Hayle, vicar of Isleworth; on June 19, three more suffered capital punishment, and a few days later, others; about August, nine Carthusians died from their sufferings in their prison : *SandOrig*², 126-180 ; Ortrov, 56, 402-3, 406; Harps., 360-61 ; *LPH8*, IX, 295 (recording the death of 9 Carthusians on September 6; probably those who died in prison); Chambers, 320-23, 325-26, 328-29, 331. On August 17, Tilman a Fossa announced the death of 'plus minus quindecim' : FG, 267, 29-30; the *Expositio* mentions the same number, whereas others count eighteen : Sander, 568.

⁶⁾ There is also a mention of Fisher's martyrdom added to the French translation of the report of More's death, the *Récit*, to which, however, it may have been added with other details when it was first printed in 1659, 124 years after it was composed : cp. further pp. 41, *sq.*

⁷⁾ Cp. further, pp. 55, 60 ; *ErasLaur.*, I, 666-67.

Then, referring to the mere casual mention made of Fisher's and More's death in the preface to his *Ecclesiastes*, 1535 ¹⁾, which had been written at the Bishop of Rochester's request ²⁾, he declares : ' amici tui, quos hic habes plurimos & eruditos, quorum consuetudine familiariter utor, mirantur, quod mortem tam cari & intimi amici scriptis non celebres tuis. Nonnulli dicunt, mentionem, quam in prologo *Ecclesiastis* de eo atque *Roffensi* facis ³⁾, dignam non esse tantis viris, quod prolixius debebas, ajunt, in materiam tam dignam procedere : tu scis, quid sis factururus, ego tanquam amicus moneo ' ⁴⁾.

It follows from that passage that the report which Goes received from Erasmus, did not contain any passage that he could recognize as being a personal opinion, or an expression of feelings, or of remembrances ⁵⁾ of the man whose house and table he had shared for several months ⁶⁾; that they had conferred of the subject, follows from the fact that two years earlier it had been treated in their correspondence ⁷⁾. Consequently it was not the second *Expositio* that was sent to Padua on December 15, but the first issue, of the earlier half of October 1535, merely reproducing the document which Goclenius had communicated.

B. ITS TRANSLATION

That report edited by Erasmus in October 1535 for the benefit of his friends, does not seem to have survived in any

¹⁾ EOO, V, 767-70. The *Ecclesiastes* was inscribed to Bishop Christopher a Stadion, although it had been intended for Fisher; the prologue, just mentioning his and More's death, is evidently antedated August 6, 1535, as results from what has been said before of the time when Erasmus heard of the news : pp. 23-25.

²⁾ Cp. Erasmus' letter to Fisher, Sept. 4, 1524, and that to Bishop Christopher of Utenheim, Jan. 1523 : Allen, V, 1332, 36-39, 1489, 39.

³⁾ Ortroj, 26-27.

⁴⁾ EE, 1772, B.

⁵⁾ Goes had become Erasmus' intimate friend : *MonHL*, 613-624, in so far that in this same letter of January 26, 1536, he offered to edit all his works and to write his biography : EE, 1772, c-D.

⁶⁾ From about April 1534 to the following August : *MonHL*, 615-17; EE, 1492, B-C; Allen, X, 2919.

⁷⁾ Erasmus' letter to Goes, July 25, 1533 : EE, 1472, A-F; Allen, X, 2846.

copy, but it was translated into German, into French and into Spanish in the last weeks of 1535 or in the first of 1536 at latest, as otherwise the more complete *Expositio* ¹⁾, which was published in the very beginning of 1536, if not in the last days of 1535, would certainly have been preferred.

The German translation, which bears neither name of printer nor date ²⁾, has as title :

**Beschreybung des vr-/theyls vnd todts/
weiland/des Gros3 Cantzlers in Engenlandt/
Herrn/Thomas Morus/Darumb das er/des-
selben Reichs Ratschlag vnd/newen Statuten
nit bat/wöllen anhangen./Aus3 einem wel-
schen truck verteutschet.**

This report starts with the account of the trial of More on July 1, 1535, and ends with the last recommendation of the martyr just before his death. Similar to it, although with occasional discrepancies, is the French text : by comparison they show to all evidence that they are both translations of one and the same original ³⁾. Of that French version no contemporary edition is known; it is preserved and published amongst the *Additions aux Mémoires de Michel de Castelnau*, printed in Paris in 1659, taking up pp. 430, sq, of the first volume ⁴⁾. It was reprinted in 1731 by J. Le Laboureur in *Les Mémoires de Messire de Castelnau, Seigneur*

¹⁾ Cp. further, p. 55.

²⁾ This little book consists of one quire of four leaves in-quarto, with the signatures A ij & A iij; the text, in black letter, takes up pp. A 1 v to A 4 v. There is a copy in the British Museum: press-mark 1202. c. 33. 1.

³⁾ Cp. further, pp. 45, sq.

⁴⁾ That text was translated by James Gairdner, *LPH8*, VIII, p. 394, sq, and by F. T. E. Bridgett, *Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More* : London, 1892 : 419-423. Both refer to a manuscript copy in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, which J. Delcourt (*Essai sur la Langue de Sir Thomas More d'après ses Œuvres Anglaises* : Paris, 1914 : 57) did not succeed in finding : cp. Constant, 499, 527, sq. In their *Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*, by Nicholas Harpsfield (London, 1932), E. V. Hitchcock and R. W. Chambers reprint the French text, preserved in eight manuscripts of Paris National Library : Harps., 253-266.

de Mauvissière ¹⁾, with some additional notes about Thomas More's ancestors ²⁾, leading up to this preamble :

Voicy le récit du procez de Thomas Morus, comme ie l'ay tiré d'un Manuscrit qui fut enuoyé de Londres la mesme année, par un témoin de ses dernières paroles & de sa mort. Je le donnerai de son Style sans y rien changer ³⁾.

It is evident that the French text had not been sent from London to France, as, from a comparison between the various versions, it follows that the original text was in English; it was translated into Latin rather summarily, and from that Latin translation were derived, quite independently from each other, the German, the French and the Spanish versions. The French *Récit* begins ⁴⁾ and ends ⁵⁾ like the *Beschreibung*, but it has a few lines about the death of Fisher as appendix, which one might suppose to have been found in the Latin model ⁶⁾, if there were not a few other instances of alterations, which were for certain brought about in the original French version when it was edited, in 1659, or re-printed, in 1731 ⁷⁾.

From the text edited by Erasmus was also made a Spanish rendering which was never published, but of which two copies are preserved in the General Archives of the State

¹⁾ Brussels, 1781 : I, 415-418.

²⁾ Le Laboureur relates that a « Thomas More Escuyer » was captain of the Bastille in 1431 on behalf of Henry VI, and that he became Warden of the 'Bois de Vincennes' in 1434 : I, 414.

³⁾ Delcourt, 57, sq; Constant, 499-500, 527, 531.

⁴⁾ *Récit* : 'Maistre Morus naguère chancelier d'Angleterre fut mené le 1. jour de Juillet 1535 devant les Juges' &c. *Beschreibung*.: 'Herr Thomas Morus neulicher zeyt grosz Cantzler jnn Engenland, ist den ersten Monats tag Julij. 1535. für die Königlichen verordneten Richter geführt worden' &c.

⁵⁾ *Récit* : 'Après les exhorta & supplia tres instamment qu'ils priassent pour le Roy afin que Dieu luy voulut donner bon conseil, protestant qu'il mourroit son bon & loyal serviteur, & de Dieu premièrement'. *Beschreibung* : 'Darnach bat er mit grossem fleysz / das sy auch den Herrn Gott für den König bätten / das er jm geben wolt einen guten Rath / Vnd bezeuget das er stürb sein getrwer diener / Fürnemlich aber von wegen vnsers Herren Gottes'.

⁶⁾ Cp. before p. 39; the lines about Fisher are missing in Harps., 266.

⁷⁾ Cp. further the comparison between the texts, pp. 44, sq.

in Simancas : one is complete ¹⁾, and offers a text similar to that of the *Récit*, — at least, such is the conclusion of Bergenroth, who made transcripts of those documents ²⁾ for his *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII* ³⁾; it starts with the relation of the happenings on July 1, 1535, like the *Récit* and the *Beschreybung*, and finishes with the request of prayers for the King made by the Martyr to those who witnessed his execution, and with the affirmation that he died the King's faithful servant, but God's first. To that text the Spanish version adds : ' Such was the miserable end of More, who was formerly in great reputation, and much loved by the King his master, and regarded by all as a good man, even to his death. Dated 4 Aug. 1535 ' ⁴⁾. That date evidently refers to the text itself and not to the copy, to which no indication is added as to when, or by whom, it was made. There is in the Simancas Archives a second but incomplete copy ⁵⁾. That Spanish version, which in several places has a better rendering than the *Récit* ⁶⁾, is one more proof of the interest taken throughout Europe in More's fate; that interest, naturally, was particularly keen in the native country of the unfortunate Queen, who must have been deeply grieved at the fate of her most faithful defenders ⁷⁾. It is recorded that the Spanish ambassador in Italy, Dr. Ortiz, kept the Empress informed about the English events ⁸⁾ :

¹⁾ Archivo Gen. de Simancas, Estado Leg^o n^o 864 f 86 : Copia de un documento... sobre las cosas de Anglaterra. It comprises 10 pages.

²⁾ Those transcripts of Spanish State Papers form volume XVI of the Collection of that name in the British Museum : *MS. Addit.* 28587. b. 10 : pp. 334-339.

³⁾ *LPH8*, VIII, 996; pp. 394-396.

⁴⁾ *LPH8*, VIII, p. 396. The same ending and the same date are found in MS. F and C of the *Récit* : Harps., 266.

⁵⁾ Archivo General de Simancas, Estado Leg^o n^o 806 f 47 : Copia... : Audiencia que se concedio a Tomas Mauro o Moro Chancellor de Inglaterra y en la cual fue condenada a muerte: 8 pages; — *LPH8*, VIII, p. 396; Bergenroth made a transcript of that document too : *MS Addit.*, 28587. b. 10 : ff 336, sq; in that same collection is a copy of a third Spanish document, reposing in the Madrid Academia de la Historia : B. de Lalasar A. 44. fol. 314 : Relacion de... Thomas Morus : *MS Addit.* 28587. b. 10 : ff 340-344.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, the comparison of the texts, pp. 44, sq.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, p. 73.

⁸⁾ Ortroy, 825.

on May 31, 1535, he announced More's imprisonment ¹⁾; on June 20, the execution of Richard Reynolds and the three Carthusians, as well as Fisher's and More's trial ²⁾; on October 6, he sent a report about More's martyrdom from Rome ³⁾ — possibly the one which Nuncio de Carpi had had translated ⁴⁾, — and on November 22, from Naples, he added some details about the treatment of the Martyrs' heads ⁵⁾, of which the news had just reached him ⁶⁾.

C. COMPARISON OF TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Although the relation of More's death edited by Erasmus in the first half of October does not seem to have survived, it is possible to have an idea of its contents and its origin by a comparison of the three translations with a second edition of that relation which Erasmus issued, although not under his name either, in the beginning of 1536 or at the end of 1535, as will be examined further ⁷⁾. That second edition was entitled *Expositio fidelis*, or narration, first of the trial and death of More, — and moreover, of that of Fisher, evidently to match what had been printed about three months before for his fellow-martyr. From that comparison it results, as already has been suggested ⁸⁾, that the *Expositio* of More's last days was a Latin translation of an English report.

That debt to a document sent from England about More's martyrdom, is expressed with great clearness : for regretting that he could not provide a full report of Fisher's trial and death, Erasmus wrote in the second part of the *Expositio* : 'Vtinam huc peruenissent acta Roffensis, quemadmodum acta Mori peruenerunt' ⁹⁾. From a comparison of the text of the first part, and of the translations which had been made

¹⁾ *LPH8*, VIII, 786.

²⁾ *LPH8*, VIII, 904.

³⁾ *LPH8*, IX, 557.

⁴⁾ Cp. before pp. 31-32.

⁵⁾ *LPH8*, IX, 873.

⁶⁾ That news reached Erasmus in October through de Schepper and Golenius : cp. before pp. 24, 33, 34.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, pp. 56, *sq.*

⁸⁾ Cp. before, pp. 37, 42.

⁹⁾ *Expos.*, 523; cp. further, pp. 88, 105.

of it before, it follows that those *Acta Mori* reached the Continent as an English report, which was translated into Latin by some one who, not thoroughly versed in English, failed to understand a few passages. One of these is the place in which reference is made in More's trial to the letters which he sent to, and received from, Fisher; the incident is mentioned in the official documents, which state that, one of those letters having been found, George Golde, servant of the Lieutenant of the Tower, owned on examination that he had conveyed twelve messages: it was then strictly forbidden to him to give any help towards any further communication between the prisoners. Referring to that accusation brought in against him, More said, according to the *Expositio*, that he was accused of having acted against the Act of Supremacy: 'eo quod ad Roffensem scripserim octo paria epistolarum' ¹⁾. Those words are evidently the literal translation of 'eight pair of letters', which simply means 'eight letters' ²⁾, as *pair* was frequently used for objects composed of various parts ³⁾, no doubt because letters were often composed of several leaves ⁴⁾. The translator of the English text, not understanding the expression, rendered it by *octo paria litterarum*, meaning sixteen letters ⁵⁾, which is in contradiction with the evidence given by Golde: it seems consistent that More wrote eight to answer four of Fisher's, since it often takes pages to reply to a question contained in a few lines. The German translation has here. 'Acht bar brieff', and the French 'huit paires de lettres';

¹⁾ *Expos.* 515; Ortrov, 291-299; Stapleton, 323.

²⁾ Cp. *Cursor Mundi*, Cotton MS. 7896: the King a pair o lettres [other readings a letter or lettres] writte Did, and gaf him-self to ber: *NED*.

³⁾ E. g., a pair of beads (*viz.*, one rosary); a pair of organs (one instrument); a pair of cards (the set); a pair of stairs (staircase): *NED*; cp. Palsgrave, 251: Payre of indentures, Payre of tables, Payre of clary-cordes (Fr. *indentures*, *jeu de tables*, *monocorde*), &c.

⁴⁾ In Latin the plural *litteræ* is also used for one *epistola*.

⁵⁾ That wrong translation may have influenced the *Lyfe* of Fisher in which it is said that his servant R. Wilson was caught carrying a letter; he owned when examined that he had conveyed 'sixteene or seauenteene', some of which being sealed, some written with a coale: Ortrov, 293. Most likely that evidence was introduced by tradition on account of the *Expositio*, for from official documents it appears that Golde carried the letters: *LPHS*, VIII, 856, 858, 867; Ortrov 291-94; Chambers, 329-30, 337.

but the Spanish rightly corrected : ' ocho letras ' — which is more consistent, for More often owned that he was ' ad scribendas epistolas pigrum ' ¹⁾).

A second mistake due to the misunderstanding of English, occurs in the conclusion of his last declaration in Court : ' precor Deum ut uos seruet una cum Rege, eique dare dignetur bonos consultores ' ²⁾. Considering Henry VIII's headstrong, yet highly whimsical disposition, of which his former Chancellor was too well aware, it is not at all likely that he should have wished for good councillors, who would have been perfectly useless and ineffective. It rather seems that he meant, what he also expressed in his last speech on the scaffold to the people present : ' orarent Deum pro Rege, ut illi dignaretur impertire bonum consilium ' ³⁾. The English original must have read here : ' God may grant him good counsel ', or ' council ' ; which word was taken as a collective noun for ' good councillors ', instead of : the right mind, the clear view of things, which Henry VIII evidently wanted : he was a bad judge of men and, above all, he was tyrannically impulsive; nor did he *want* good councillors : to a Queen like Catherine, he preferred Anne, and to a man like Chancellor More, he substituted the unprincipled secretary Cromwell. As to the speech on the scaffold, the translations in modern languages, in which, like in English, the words *conseil* and *Rath* have the double meaning ⁴⁾, do not provide any decided proof of identity, whereas the Latin text of the *Expositio* reads ' consilium '.

The three versions ⁵⁾ offer, notwithstanding some differences in a few details, a similitude, almost an identity, with each other and with the first part of Erasmus' relation, which is prevailing and constant : no doubt, they are replicas of one and the same model, namely the first edition of the report of More's trial and death printed in October 1535 ⁶⁾, which, with a few additions was reprinted in the *Expositio*

¹⁾ Allen, II, 388, 4 ; cp. *Cran.*, 242, 5, 262, 8.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 518 ; Stapleton, 329.

³⁾ *Expos.*, 520.

⁴⁾ The *Beschreibung*, A 4 r, has here : ' <Gott... wölle...> jr geben einen guten Rath ' ; the *Récit* : ... ' lui donner bon conseil '.

⁵⁾ Cp. before pp. 40-44.

⁶⁾ Cp. before pp. 37-40.

of the beginning of 1536 or the end of 1535 ¹⁾. The structure of these four texts is the same in form and proportion ; the ideas, which all occur in the same succession, are exactly alike. That identity which, in a way, makes up for the absence of all copies of the original edition of the *Expositio* of October 1535, is illustrated by the rendering of the passage about the number of letters and also by the wrong date of More's death. His execution happened on July 6, 1535, being the 'vtas', or octave, of St. Peter's [and St. Paul's] and the eve of the translation of the relics of St. Thomas of Canterbury, — as he particularly mentions it in the letter which he wrote on the day before his death to his daughter Margaret ²⁾. The *Expositio* assigns it to 'Die Mercurij sequente, hoc est, septimo die Iulij', and that wrong date is reproduced — not only in all reprints, but also in the German and the Spanish translation ³⁾. The *Récit* ⁴⁾ has the right date, which was probably changed when it was printed, more than a century after it was first written, for all the French manuscripts mention : 'Le mercredi' ⁵⁾.

* * *

The three versions differ only in minor details from the text of the *Expositio* : especially the German translation tries to follow the Latin with painful care : it omits, no doubt by mistake, a few words ⁶⁾, and shows that some passages were not understood ; where More remarks that the Act of Supremacy, on the strength of which he is going to be sentenced, was made '[illo] iam in carcere agente', the version

¹⁾ Cp. before p. 44.

²⁾ MoreW, 1457; SandOrig¹, 82 v; Stapleton, 334, 335; ; *Last Lett.*, 117-118; Blunt, I, 424. — Strype, I, 320, states that the dates July 6, and, for Fisher, June 22, are those given by Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury in his *Life and Reign of Henry VIII* : London, 1649, — and July 7 and June 21, by the 'popish author of «the Martyrs of England»', — no doubt, Maurice Chauncy's *Historia aliquot nostri saeculi Martyrum in Anglia*, based on the *Expositio* of Oct. 1535, and printed at Mayence in 1550 : cp. further pp. 92, 115.

³⁾ *Expos.*, 520; *Beschreybung*, A 4 r : 'Am volgenden mitwoch'.

⁴⁾ Le mardy suivant il fut décapité : *Récit*, 418 : cp. before, p. 42.

⁵⁾ Harps., 266, 1.

⁶⁾ *Beschreybung*, A 2 v, l. 16 (about his conscience, and his opinion which he declared to no man) and A 3 r, l 7 (about the two edged sword) : *Expos.*, 515 and 516.

suggests that it was on that account that he 'in gefencknus gelegt sey' ¹⁾. 'I wrote to Fisher', the late Chancellor states, 'me iam meam composuisse conscientiam, ipse componeret suam'; that statement is rendered: 'das ich mein gewissen informirt habe /das er die seinen berichten solt' ²⁾, — which is at least obscure, and would certainly have been more effective if a word of explanation had been added, as was done for the term 'Categorice' ³⁾. Finally More's last words on the scaffold, declaring: 'se mori fidelem ac bonum Regis ministrum, ac Dei in primis', are evidently badly rendered by the closing sentence of the *Beschreybung*: 'das er stürb sein <i. e., des Königs> getrwer diener /Fürnemlich aber von wegen unsers Herren Gottes', as it was not his intention to indicate the motive of his devotion to the King, but the dependence and subordination of that devotion to the paramount duty and piety to God. ⁴⁾

The *Récit* is much more exact and certainly more elegant than the German text; in several places it is even more compact and concise than the Latin ⁵⁾, and it testifies to the translator's literary ability; that judgment is evidently conditional, and applies only to the form in which the *Récit* has survived; for it is most apparent that the original translation of the last weeks of 1535 was corrected and arranged before it reached the editor who had it printed in 1659 'de son Style sans y rien changer' ⁶⁾. In a few instances the *Récit* has alterations which are not felicitous: all that shows that the French text is not the original, but a mere translation ⁷⁾. Thus the opposition between 'in hoc mundo' and 'in altero mundo' in More's ultimate speech, is lost in: 'par deça' and 'autre part' ⁸⁾; the remark about the silence, 'quod habetur in legibus', becomes 'ce que l'on dit

¹⁾ *Expos.*, 514; *Beschreybung*, A 2 r.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 515; *Beschreybung*, A 2 v; cp. notes to *Ordo*, 131, 132-33.

³⁾ *Beschreybung*, A 2 v.

⁴⁾ *Expos.*, 520; *Beschreybung*, A 4 v.

⁵⁾ E. g. More's answer to the first accusation is much more concise in the *Récit*; so is the argument of the two-edged sword: *Expos.*, 513-15, 516; *Harp.*, 261, 4-11, 262, 11-25; *Ordo*, 75-116, 148-161.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp. 41-42. ⁷⁾ Cp. further, pp. 95-96, and *Ordo*, 109-16, n.

⁸⁾ *Expos.*, 520; *Beschreybung*, A 4 r: 'in diser welt... in der andern'...; the Spanish reproduces the opposition of the *Expositio*: LPH8, VIII, p. 396.

vulgairement ' : MSS ' ce que dit le droict commun ' ¹⁾); the distinction 'Laicus, aut ut uocant, secularis' vanishes in 'un temporal' ²⁾); 'tota nobilitate, toto denique regno' is pressed too drastically into 'les nobles du royaume' ³⁾). For other discrepancies, which are evident mistakes or misreadings, the copyists and compositors may be as well at fault as the translator ⁴⁾), whereas there seem to be two instances in which the alteration was made at a much later date than that of the rendering : the conclusion of the verdict of the Jury, 'Killim', taken over by the German and the Spanish translations, was replaced by the more exact : 'Guilty, c'est à dire condamné ou digne de mort' ⁵⁾); and the wrong date of More's death, Wednesday, July 7, of the *Expositio*, was corrected into : 'Le mardy suivant' <July 6> ⁶⁾).

The Spanish version is evidently made on the first edition of the *Expositio* ⁷⁾), and is as elegant as the *Récit*, besides being more exact. It was altered afterwards for the description of the farewell meeting between More and his daughter, when in her sad plight Margaret returned after having gone away ten or twelve steps, to embrace once more her father. The effect on the martyr is thus described in the *Beschreybung* : 'Die stercket der vatter vnuerendert seines gesichts / seiner rede / seiner farb / vnd vngezehert / sagt nichts anderst dann das sy Gott fur sein seel bitten solt'.

¹⁾ *Expos.*, 515; Harps., 261, 1; *Beschr.*, A 2 v : in weltlichen Rechten; Spanish : que el derecho comun dize.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 517; Harps., 263, 18; *Ordo*, 185 : princeps prorsus prophanus; *Beschreybung*, A 3 v : ein Lay odder weltlicher.

³⁾ *Expos.*, 517; *Ordo*, 190; *Beschr.* Aij v : Adel vnnd das gantz Reich gemainlich; Harps., 263, 20 : la noblesse et universellement tout le Royaume.

⁴⁾ The *Récit* has : 'la lettre de la noble Loy', evidently for : 'nouelle loy' : *Expos.*, 517 : iuxta tenorem novæ constitutionis; *Beschr.*, A 3 v : nach... innhalt des neuen gesetz; Spanish : la forma y tenor de la nueva ley. It leaves out the negation in the passage rendering : Harum caussa non possum... adduci morti : *Expos.*, 516.

⁵⁾ *Expos.*, 517, *Beschr.*, A 8 r & Spanish : Killim; Harps., 263, 6: Gylti.

⁶⁾ *Expos.*, 520; *Beschreybung*, A 4 r; cp. before p. 47.

⁷⁾ Bergenroth, in *LPHS*, VIII, pp. 394-96, concludes that the Spanish version was made from the *Récit*, because he did not know of the first *Expositio* of Oct. 1535; he indicates several variants and they are just those places in which the *Récit* itself differs from the Latin text which it translates; nor has the corrected date of the death, or the verdict 'Guilty' been taken over in the Spanish version : cp. p. 47.

The *Récit* has as follows : ' son dit père, à laquelle Marguerite ne dit autre chose, sinon qu'elle priaist Dieu pour son âme, & sans aucunes larmes & changement de couleur'¹⁾. The Spanish version says, on the contrary : ' a la qual el affligido padre, corriendo lagrimas de sus ójos, sin hazer movimiento en la habla ni en el rostro, no dixo otro cosa sino que rogassen Dios por su anima '. The corresponding text in the (second) *Expositio* runs: 'Cui pater nihil loquutus est, tantum erumpebant lachrymae, uultu tamen a constantia nihil dimoto. Nec aliud supremis uerbis mandauit, quam ut Deum pro anima patris deprecaretur²⁾'. It appears that, although the Spanish version reproduces exactly the texts that represent the first Latin report of October 1535 for the unmovedness of face and voice, it adds that the tears were streaming from his eyes, as the new *Expositio* relates in opposition with what the other translations have. That apparent anomaly may be due to the fact that the original text of the Spanish version may have been copied afterwards by one who knew of the second issue of the report of More's last days, and corrected according to the new *Expositio* ³⁾.

With the exception of that only particularity in the Spanish translation, not one single detail of those which Erasmus added to the second edition of the report about More's death, is found in any of the three versions, — evidently because they were not in the first edition. Thus in none of them is there the opening remark about all things, especially sad ones, being common amongst friends with the reference to Pythagoras and Euripides ; nor the sketch of London and of the places where judgment and execution were to take place ⁴⁾. Similarly the explanations added to appellations 'Milord' and 'Magister', are not reproduced

¹⁾ *Beschreybung*, A 4 r; *LPHS*, VIII, 996; *Récit*, 418; Harps., 265.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 519; cp. for the text of the *Ordo*, 256-67, further, p. 122.

³⁾ *Expos.*, 519; the *Ordo*, 267-68, insists on the strength of More's character in this last embrace : vt ne vnam quidem lachrimulam miserit, nec vllas omnino in vultu perturbati animi notas ediderit : cp. p. 122.

⁴⁾ *Expos.*, 511-512 ; the *Récit* starts with the report of the trial : 'Maistre Thomas Morus naguère Chancelier d'Angleterre fut mené le 1. jour de juillet 1535 devant les Juges' &c. So does the *Beschreybung* : 'Herr Thomas Morus neulich zeyt gross Cantzler jnn Engenland, ist den ersten Monats tag Julij. 1535, für die Königlichen verordneten Richter geführt worden' &c. So also does the Spanish version.

in the versions, which only quote the title, or give an equivalent ¹⁾; nor are new details, such as the mention that Thomas More walked with great difficulty to Westminster Hall leaning on a stick ²⁾; that he embraced his daughter in a supreme good-bye ³⁾, and thus suffered greater pains than when he was sentenced ⁴⁾; nor is the high praise of Margaret Roper's virtues and abilities ⁵⁾, nor some reflections on the sad events ⁶⁾, nor an occasional learned quotation ⁷⁾. In one instance the difference between the versions and the *Expositio* shows that a word was changed: for the term: 'delictum', in: 'si modo delictum appellandum est', — where More indicated that he dissuaded Henry VIII from his new marriage in full sincerity, was introduced in the new *Expositio* where the first Latin report must have had *error*, since the *Récit* has here 'erreur', and the *Beschreybung* calls it 'yrthumb' ⁸⁾. Further, the narrative of More's meeting with his daughter is sober and concise in the translations, whereas it is much longer and more circumstantial in the new *Expositio*, which adds the variant according to which More seems unmoved at Margaret's last embrace, although the tears stream over his face ⁹⁾. Of course, another difference is the end: where the versions break off with More's last words ¹⁰⁾, the *Expositio* begins the narration of Fisher's execution and that of some Carthusians and priests, to which is added a

¹⁾ *Expos.*, 512; the *Beschreybung*, e. g., has: 'Maister', A 1 v, and 'gnediger Fürst', A 3 v; *Ordo*, 12, 201, nn.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 512; *Ordo*, 9, n.

³⁾ *Expos.*, 519; *Ordo*, 261-62, n.

⁴⁾ *Expos.*, 520; *Ordo*, 269-70, n.

⁵⁾ *Expos.*, 518-519; *Ordo*, 249, n.

⁶⁾ *Expos.*, 518-520; *Ordo*, 249, 269-70, nn.

⁷⁾ De occultis solus Deus iudicat: *Expos.*, 514; — Curae leues loquuntur, ingentes stupent: *Expos.*, 519.

⁸⁾ *Expos.*, 514; *Beschreybung*, A 2 r; the *Ordo*, 69, has here: 'non ita desipio'...; cp. further, p. 96.

⁹⁾ *Expos.*, 218-220; *Ordo*, 249-270; this last detail was inserted into the Spanish version: cp. p. 50.

¹⁰⁾ The *Récit* finishes saying that More: 'supplia... qu'ils priassent pour le Roy afin que Dieu luy voulut donner bon conseil, protestant qu'il mouroit son bon & loyal serviteur, & de Dieu premièrement'. Similarly in the *Beschreybung* More requests prayers for the King that God: 'jm geben wolt einen guten Rath, Vnd bezeuget das er stürb sein getrwer diener, Fürnemlich aber von wegen vnsers Herren Gottes'. The Spanish version ends similarly: *Expos.*, 520; Harps., 266.

rich store of comments on the events, and of information on Erasmus' two great friends. It is repeatedly stated that the news about the executions, as well as the additional details, were provided by letters of friends; that, for certain, was the source from which were derived the few interesting particulars added to the second edition of the narrative of More's martyrdom.

* * *

It follows from the preceding comparison that if Erasmus refers to a letter circulating in Paris, it is merely to secure the anonymousness of his *Expositio* ¹⁾. Indeed there is no evidence whatever about that 'Paris letter', whereas his indebtedness to Goclenius for authentic information and for reports is duly substantiated. If he had received the circumstantial relation which the Nuncio de Carpi got on July 29 ²⁾, he should not have sent to Bishop Tomiczki, on August 31, the extract from Goclenius' letter of August 10 ³⁾. Although eager to send out a narrative, he did not want to be known as the author or editor, which made him drop all mention of his real authority. Published with the celerity and appropriateness that characterizes him, his *Expositio* soon spread as it answered a keen demand. That it was the *source*, and not the translation, of any report in any continental language, is attested by the definite statement that the German version was made from a foreign *printed* edition: '*ausz einem welschen truck verteutsch*' ⁴⁾. The French text is not known to have been printed before 1659; yet it subsists in several manuscripts ⁵⁾, which proves that it was considered as transitory, as a news-letter, bound to become superfluous when the reading public, the only permanently interested in More, learned that, on account of the great demand, a second, much enlarged *Expositio* had been brought out, once more pretendedly originary from Paris.

¹⁾ Cp. further, pp. 56, *sq.* ²⁾ Cp. before, p. 81.

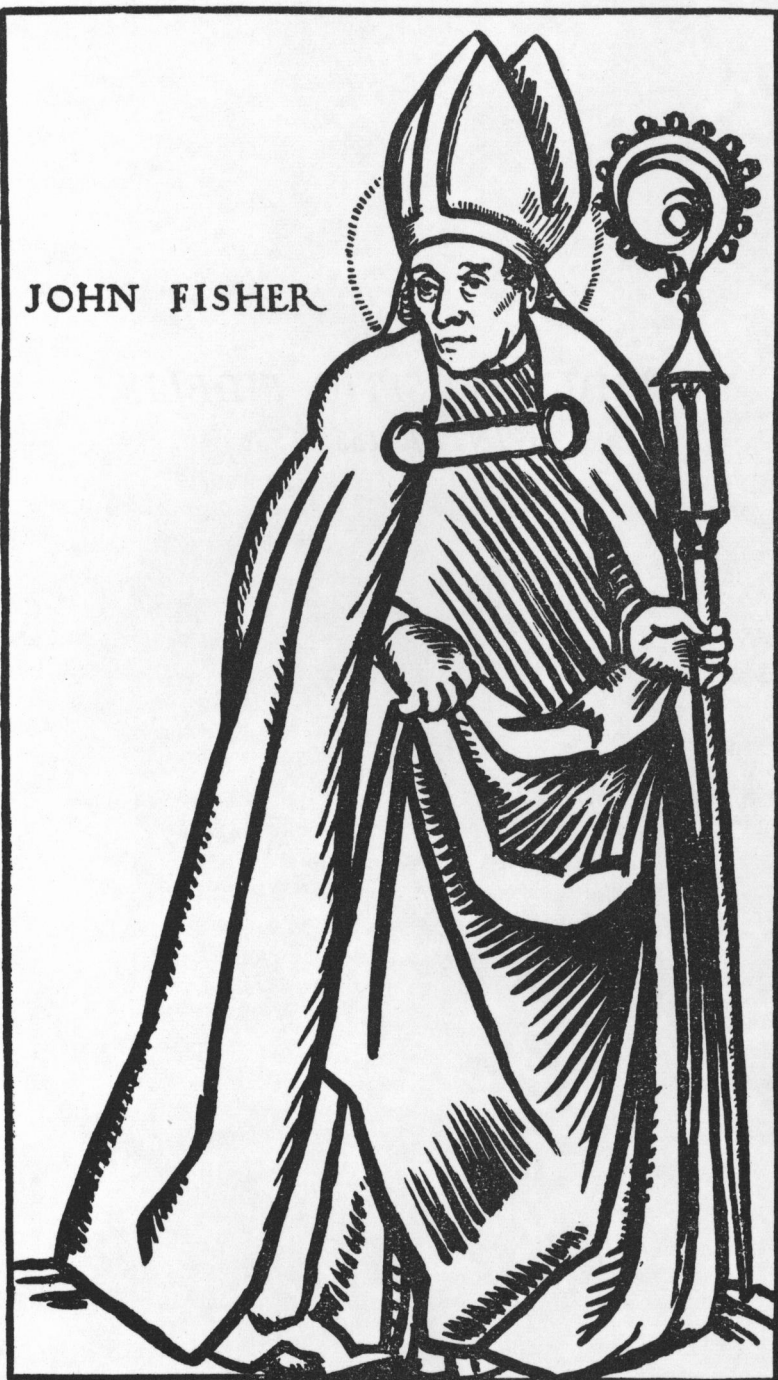
³⁾ Cp. before, pp. 23-25.

⁴⁾ *Beschreyb.*, title; the circumstances under which this present book was made prevented inspecting and collating a second German version, in the Cock Library, Guildhall: *Von der Vorurteilung und Tode, ettwan des Grossen Cantzlers von England Hern Thome Mori. Aus dem Welschen ins Deutsch gebracht*: Dresden, 1536: Harps., 254.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp. 41-42; Harps., 254-57.

III
THE *EXPOSITIO FIDELIS*
WINTER 1535-1536

JOHN FISHER



III. THE *EXPOSITIO FIDELIS* WINTER 1535/1536

A. ITS COMPOSITION

The first edition of the *Expositio* of his friend More's trial and death, printed in the early days of October 1535, to be distributed amongst his acquaintances, shows to all evidence that Erasmus could not be more than the editor. It could have only been written by one of the few that had access to Westminster Hall, and could follow closely the masterful defence of England's greatest lawyer, as well as the tragical sequel of a King's aberration. It did not relate the trial or execution of More's fellow-martyr Fisher, for the references to the *Expositio* by Volz and Goes¹⁾ concern exclusively the story of the last days of the late Chancellor. On account of the most intimate connection which he had always prided himself on, Erasmus felt that every one expected that he should pay a tribute to Fisher's memory as well as to that of More, and that he should do so not only by the anonymous edition of some document, but by a composition of his own, appropriate to the circumstances. It was so natural that already on October 2, 1535, Simon Heynes wrote from Paris to a London correspondent, that rumour would have it that Erasmus had written a book 'wherein he do sore inveie against the Kynges Highness for the deth of Mr More'; it was not out yet, but was expected to be offered for sale at the next Frankfurt mart²⁾. When on January 26, 1536, Damian a Goes expressed his friends' and his own wish for a proper eulogy of the two Martyrs³⁾, Erasmus probably had already planned and started it. As he could not improve on the narrative of More's trial and death made by an

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp. 38-40.

²⁾ *LPH8*, IX, 521.

³⁾ Cp. pp. 89-40, 60; *ErasLaur.*, I, 668.

eye-witness, he took it over ¹⁾ with a few additions, and he joined to it, as a second part, a sketch of Fisher's execution, with some details about that of Richard Reynolds and that of the Carthusians. As he had little information for that sketch, he enlarged it by comments on their constancy, and on the circumstances that attended on the last years of their lives : he thus provided a rich store of information on the characters of the Bishop of Rochester, and, especially, of the ex-Chancellor, which is repeatedly stated to have been derived, along with the particulars of the recent events, from letters and from the rumour spreading in the Netherlands, in the near vicinity of England ²⁾.

Although most willing to pay due tribute to his deceased friends, Erasmus dreaded doing so in his proper name and person. For several years he had enjoyed pensions and received gifts from the King and from some conspicuous men in Britain, and he was afraid of harming his interests by taking sides. Far less straightforward and less generous than Vives ³⁾, he refused in September 1528 to mix up with the « *negocium Iouis et Iunonis* » ⁴⁾. In 1526 he had composed a *Christiani Matrimonii Institutio* for Queen Catherine ⁵⁾; yet he dedicated in 1530 an *Enarratio Triplex in Psalmum XXII* to Thomas Boleyn ⁶⁾; about May 14, 1530, he declared to Sadolet, with reference to those dedications : 'ei causae, quanquam non semel rogatus, nunquam animum induxi memet admiscere. Quae supra nos, nihil ad nos. Nunc vtrunque habeo mihi pariter fauentem' ⁷⁾. In July 1533, he states that, as Charles V's councillor, he considers it more advisable not to express his opinion about the Divorce and the ἀποστάσιον βασιλικόν. 'Nullus unquam mortaliū', he assured, 'vllam syllabam ex me audiuit, approbantem aut improbantem... Quanquam', he adds in one

¹⁾ He represents this first part as derived from a 'scheda apud Parisios iactata, ac per manus hominum volante' : *Expos.*, 511, 520.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 520, 523, 528, 530.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 261, a; *MonHL*, 28, sq.

⁴⁾ On Sept 2, 1528 he wrote to Vives : *Negocio Iouis et Iunonis absit vt me admisceam, praesertim incognito. Citius tribuerim vni duas Iunones quam vnam adimerem* : Allen, VII, 2040, 41-42; cp. FG, 230, 27, sq.

⁵⁾ Allen, VI, 1727.

⁶⁾ Allen, VIII, 2232, 2266.

⁷⁾ Allen VIII, 2315, 129-147.

breath, 'ab eo tempore, quo coepit hoc negotium agi, nihil ab eo <Henrico> beneficii accepi praeter animi beneuolentiam' ¹⁾). Besides wishing to avoid displeasing the King, he was equally anxious to keep on excellent terms with those who enjoyed royal favour. In that respect he found help and assistance with Gerard Phrysius ²⁾, who was in the service of Thomas Boleyn, Viscount of Rochford, 1529 ³⁾, and, afterwards, in that of Thomas Cranmer, Warham's successor on the see of Canterbury ⁴⁾; through him at least part of the arrears of the Aldington pension, which Archbishop Warham had granted him in 1512 ⁵⁾, were paid ⁶⁾. Whilst he was composing his pamphlets, Erasmus was looking out for money from England : on September 2, 1535, he remarked despondently to Goclenius that the pensions which Thomas Theobaldus had asserted to have been dispatched by Thomas Bedyll, were 'ἀνεμύλιον' ⁷⁾. By the end of 1535, he requested the intervention of the Imperial Ambassador Eustace Chapuys, to obtain the payment of the overdue pensions : 'de recuperanda pensione', as results from Chapuys' reply of February 1, 1536 ⁸⁾. On March 11, 1536, he complained to Gilbert Cousin of the recent decease of so many of his patrons, and particularly dwelled on the losses sustained 'in Anglia', where, he wrote, 'omnes aut mors sustulit, aut metus contraxit. Pensionarii excusant; praeter spem tamen nescio quo consilio Thomas Cronvelius, Regis secretarius ⁹⁾, qui nunc secundum Regem potest plurimum, dono misit viginti Angelatos, Cantuariensis octodecim ¹⁰⁾, Lincolnensis quin-

¹⁾ Letter to Damian a Goes, July 25, 1533 : Allen, X, 2846, 89-89; cp. FG, 223, 17-27.

²⁾ He was a pupil of Gerard Listrius : Allen, II, 495, *pr*, VIII, 2232, 21.

³⁾ Allen, VIII, 2232, 4, *sq*, 2266; FG, 222, 9-15; EE, 1472, E.

⁴⁾ Cranmer became archbishop in the first weeks of 1533; he was consecrated on March 30, 1533; Strype*Cra.*, I, 26.

⁵⁾ Wilh. Vischer, *Erasmiana* : Basle, 1876 : 8-15 ; Harps., *cæci*v.

⁶⁾ FG, 222, 17-25, 346 : Cranmer suggested his secretary to assure Erasmus that he wished to replace Warham as his *Mæcenas*, 'ne in aliquo monumento', the secretary Gerard Phrysius added, 'ejus temere memineris : est enim is qui non amat μηδὲ δῆκτην, μηδὲ καταλλάκτην'.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp. 24-25.

⁸⁾ Ent., 169.

⁹⁾ Thomas Cromwell, succeeding More as royal favourite in 1533.

¹⁰⁾ Thomas Cranmer : cp. EE, 1481, c, 1856, c; Ortroty, 419.

decim ¹⁾; nullus tamen horum scripsit. Solus Bedyllus ²⁾ ausus est scribere ³⁾, & Eusthatius Caesaris Orator ⁴⁾, liberior quam fortassis expedit. Credo tum Anglos nondum vidisse Praefationem in nostram Ecclesiasten' ⁵⁾.

If Erasmus dreaded that the English pension and the gifts from his patrons over there, might have been stopped on account of the calm and uncommitting reference to Fisher and More in that Preface, in which their death is mentioned with as little blame as that of Warham or of William Mountjoy ⁶⁾, he certainly could never have expected any more pecuniary help from Britain if it ever were known that the publishing of the relation of More's death and the commentary added to it in the new pamphlet he was preparing, were his work. There was only one way out of the difficulty: that composition had to be published without his own name, and moreover in such a fashion that nothing could justify any suspicion as to his participation in its composing and its printing.

That consideration explains, amongst other particularities, why the author refers to himself as to a stranger, remarking that More's death may soon be followed by that of Erasmus, — providing, he adds, he is still alive ⁷⁾. There was nothing extraordinary in that: for Erasmus often made such unex-

¹⁾ John Longlond, Longland, bishop of Lincoln from 1521 to 1547: *DNB*.

²⁾ Thomas Bedyll, Bedill, who had been Warham's secretary, and had become at his death in 1532 Royal Chaplain and Clerk to the Privy Council (in which quality he took part in the trial of Fisher and More), had been on excellent terms with Erasmus; he had rendered several services to him in Warham's life, and seems to have remained faithful to his old friend: Allen, II, 387; *DNB*. He was used by Henry VIII in the affair of the Divorce and in the obtruding of royal Supremacy, and by Cromwell in the suppression of the religious houses; he died in 1537: Wood, I, 643, 647; Strype, I, 309, V, 536-39; Gairdner, 151-152, 159, 164; Ortro, 316; Constant, 70, 86, 105, 129, 426, 451, 463, 599; Gasq*Mon.*, I, 196, *sq.*, 239, *sq.*; Froude, II, 236, *sq.*; Harps., 364-67.

³⁾ Cp. FG, 222: letter of June 3, 1533.

⁴⁾ Eustace Chapuys: cp. before p. 26.

⁵⁾ EE, 1519, B, C.


⁶⁾ EOO, V, 767-770; in that preface Erasmus recalls Fisher's eminent services to learning and to the University of Cambridge; the most committing sentence is that in which he regrets that the 'Præsul Roffensis <illi> infelici fato ademptus est'!

⁷⁾ *Expos.*, 527.

pected mentions of himself in his writings ¹⁾, and he took pleasure in telling his correspondents of the reports of his decease which circulated more than once ²⁾.

* * *

The pamphlet was published, without any indication as to the printer ³⁾ or publisher or to the date of printing, under the title ⁴⁾ :

 EXPOSITIO / FIDELIS DE MORTE D. THOMAE Mori & quorundam aliorū / insignium uiro-
rum in / Anglia. /// ANNO. M.D.XXXV.

The text starts on the reverse of the title-page, A₁ v, with the heading :

 P. M. CASPARI AGRIP. / S. D. / Quoniam
iuxta Pythagorae &c.

It finishes on f C₄ r : ... an vera, / nescio. / Apud Lutetiam Parisiorum x Cal. Augusti / ANNO M.D.XXXV. ⁵⁾

This *Expositio* was certainly published before April 1536 when it was reprinted in Antwerp by « Guilielmus Spyridiopoeus Iunior » ⁶⁾. It was translated into German by Gregory Wickgramm as '*Glaubwürdiger bericht von dem Todt des... Herrn Thome Mori, vnd anderer herlicher Menner in Engelland*', dedicated to Frederic von Hadstadt by a letter dated from Colmar, December 22, 1535 ⁷⁾. That date seems to

¹⁾ E. g., in his colloquy *Cyclops*, he quotes as an omen of approaching Doomsday : 'Erasmus scribit colloquia' : EOO, I, 883, E.

²⁾ Such rumour was last recorded in Sept. 1533 : Allen, X, 2874, 32-37; *MonHL*, 51 ; formerly it had spread e. g., in December 1524 : *Cran.*, 129, 14, 184, 22-35; *MonHL*, 56, and even as early as the autumn of 1511 and the summer of 1518 : Allen I, 251, 2, 270, *pr*.

³⁾ It no doubt was printed by his host Jerome Froben, Basle.

⁴⁾ The pamphlet in-quarto contains three quires : sign. A⁴B⁴C⁴. One of the two copies belonging to the British Museum, London (press mark 1180. e. 4), bears the name of the famous Louvain professor and book-collector 'J. Fr. van de Velde' at the bottom of the title page. The other copy has as press mark 4823. aaaa. 6.

⁵⁾ Stapleton, 319, 329, refers to it, and largely uses it for his narration of the trial and death of More although he quotes the Antwerp 1536 issue.

⁶⁾ NijKron., I, 916; *cp.* further, p. 89.

⁷⁾ *Cp.* further, p. 90.

imply that the *Expositio* was issued soon after the middle of December 1535; yet on Dec. 15 Erasmus sent to Damian a Goes, not the *Expositio*, but the first pamphlet he had edited in the first half of October, only treating of More's trial and execution. For if the complete report had existed, it would have been sent, and Goes would have recognized Erasmus' hand in the second part, and not suggested a composition on More and Fisher, as he did on January 26, 1536 ¹). If the *Expositio* had been printing and nearly ready by December 15, Erasmus would certainly have waited a few days, so as to be able to send the full narrative. It is out of the question to suppose that the *Expositio* could have been planned, written and printed in Basle after December 15, so as to reach Colmar in time for the dedicatory letter of the translation on December 22. Consequently Wickgramm must have antedated his letter, following the example of the *Expositio* itself, which is signed in Paris on July 23, 1535, whereas the first written report of More's death only reached Montmorency between July 26 and 29 ²). Or, — what is more probable —, the letter to von Hadstadt was actually written on December 22, 1535, as it was meant to serve for the translation of the first pamphlet, dealing only with More, which he had just finished or nearly finished. Before his rendering was finally handed to the printer, the more substantial new *Expositio* was published, so that he could not but adapt his version already made to the fuller edition, and add to it the second part about Fisher and the other martyrs, as otherwise his work would lose its seasonableness and interest. As the dedicatory letter may have had some connection with the day when it was written or with the personage addressed, it was not altered, thus producing the anomaly in the date, which makes it most verisimilar that the *Expositio* was issued very soon after, in the first weeks of 1536, if not in the last days of 1535. Unfortunately decisive evidence is lacking as to the exact date: thus when on April 18, 1536, Nicolas Ellenbog wrote from Ottobeuren to thank his friend the Dean John Mair in Klosterbeuren for the sending of the *Tragædia Thomæ Mori* in manuscript, he added that he had read it a long time before already in

¹) Cp. before, pp. 39-40, 55.

²) Cp. before, pp. 31-32.

print ¹⁾ : yet he leaves it undecided whether he read it in the *Expositio* or in the original pamphlet of October 1535.

B. THE PRETENDED AUTHOR, PHILIP DE LA MONTAIGNE

The letters 'P.M.', by which is indicated the 'pretended' author of the *Expositio*, stand, most probably ²⁾, for *Philip Montanus*, whose name appears on the title of the reprint in *Mori Lucubrationes*, 1563, as 'Phil. Mont.' That Philip de la Montaigne ³⁾, *Montanus*, born at Armentières in 1495 or 1496, studied for a time in Paris before he went to Basle to serve Erasmus, who took to him most affectionately. Leaving his master in the autumn of 1528, he returned to Paris University with the student of law Daniel Stibarus ⁴⁾; he entered Lisieux College, passing afterwards to the College of Tournai, and, by 1536, to that of Navarre ⁵⁾. On April 16, 1530, Gerard Morrhe announced to Erasmus that Montanus was successfully teaching Greek literature ⁶⁾, whereas in the summer of the same year William Quinon had taken an interest in his studies ⁷⁾. Montaigne took up theology and the Fathers, especially St. John Chrysostom, at the editing of whose works, in Latin translations, he assisted the printer Chevallon; thus he compared the Homilies on the first Epistle to the Corinthians with the text edited by Giberti, at Verona, in 1529. Meanwhile he kept up a regular correspondence with Erasmus, to whom he related, in April 1529, Berquin's trial and death, of which he had been an

¹⁾ *CorpCath.*, XIX-XXI, 372.

²⁾ The letters P. M. may have been chosen as they also suggest *Philo-Morus*.

³⁾ Cp. further, p. 62, n. 5.

⁴⁾ Their journey to Paris is humorously described in Montanus' letter of October 18, 1528 : Allen, VII, 2065, 2069, 2079; IV, p. 615; *BbBasle*, MS. G². II. 67.

⁵⁾ Ent., 148-144.

⁶⁾ Allen, VIII, 2811, 46-49 : strenue docet Græcas literas.

⁷⁾ Letter of Sept. 6, 1530; Allen, IX, 2880. On March 9, 1531 Quintinus refers to him for having transmitted Erasmus' greetings : Allen, IX, 2444, 1.

eye-witness ¹⁾, as well as all other events in the erudite or religious world. Erasmus recommended him on December 11, 1533, to Francis Bonvalot, treasurer of Besançon Chapter, for a vacant benefice ²⁾; he received from him, as a present, in September 1534, an *Emblematum Libellus* sent from Paris — probably Alciati's, in the first issue printed by Christian Wechel, in 1534 ³⁾. In his will of February 12, 1536, he bequeathed to him one hundred and fifty crowns ⁴⁾, which occasioned the writing of five letters, 1536-1537, addressed to Boniface Amerbach, Erasmus' executor ⁵⁾, in which Montanus thanks him for the kindness experienced when he was in the great humanist's service ⁶⁾. Meanwhile he continued his studies : in 1543, and again in 1556, he saw through the press new issues of Chrysostom's works in Latin for Chevallon's widow, the latter issue being dedicated to Odet Coligny, the elder brother of the admiral; he used for those issues the Greek manuscript of Chrysostomus of the Royal Library of Fontainebleau. He also worked at Theophylact, publishing a Latin translation printed in Paris in 1546; with Erasmus' Greek manuscript, lent him in 1548, he made a second issue, printed at Basle in 1554 ⁷⁾.

In 1562 de la Montaigne was appointed Rector of Queen's College in the recently erected University of Douai, in which

¹⁾ Allen, VIII, 2188, 32, sq : 'Montius noster', Erasmus praised him to Ch. Uutenhoven, 'cuius religiosam nosti fidem, nihil aliud ausus est scribere nisi quod oculis suis cominus vidit'.

²⁾ Allen, X, 2890, 12 : 'Lutetiæ habeo quendam Philippum Montanum, qui mihi olim fuit adiutor studiorum, præclare doctum, etiam in re theologica; sed moribus sanctioribus aut magis piis vidi neminem'.

³⁾ Cp. G. Duplessis, *Les Emblèmes d'Alciat* : Paris, 1884 : 12-14.

⁴⁾ *BbBasle, MS. C. VI^a. 71 : 59 r, v.*

⁵⁾ *BbBasle, MS. G^a. II : 67; C. VI^a. 71 : 79 and 81 r* : here, on the deed acknowledging the receipt of the legacy, he is styled : 'phle. de la montaigne escolier estud. en theologie', and he there signs 'de la montaigne'. Boniface Amerbach paid the money through Nicolaus bischoff to 'Conrat röschen ... Buchfñrer' on Jan. 19, 1537 and the latter, Conrad Resch, was to pay the money to Montanus and also to Peter Viterius in Paris at Pentecost; this was done on June 16 before a notary : *BbBasle, MS. C. VI^a. 71 : 47 v, 81 r.*

⁶⁾ Montanus also recalled to Amerbach the strange journey he made when he left Erasmus' service.

⁷⁾ *BbBasle, MS. G. II, 21 : 215*; that translation was reprinted in 1560, 1568 and 1570.

town he died on May 22, 1576, being buried in St.-James's Church, in which a stained-glass window recalled his features and his generosity; he also founded three scholarships in the 'Collège de Marche' ¹⁾).

It is more than probable that if Montanus related to Erasmus Berquin's execution ²⁾, he will have mentioned to him the rumour about More's trial and death, certain that he was that it would greatly interest him; without doubt, he sent him a copy of the report that circulated in the French capital ³⁾. That was a most welcome circumstance, since Erasmus did not want to publish under his name what might have harmed his interests by estranging him from his English protectors ⁴⁾; nor was it certain that he would be allowed as imperial councillor to bring forth a pamphlet which might cause trouble to Charles V or Mary of Hungary, and for certain, by retaliation, to Princess Mary. He found in Montanus the fittest man to whom the authorship of the *Expositio* could be apparently attributed, as thus it seemed connected with Paris and France.

* * *

Still that choice of Montanus as apparent author, did not suggest itself from the beginning, as results from the title given to the *Expositio* in the first edition of More's Latin works, printed at Basle in 1563, under the title: *Thomae Mori, Angliae Ornamenti Eximii, Lucubrationes, ab innumeris mendis repurgatae* ⁵⁾. To the works proper are added two biographical documents: Erasmus' letter to Hutten, of July 23, 1519, and the '*Expositio*' ⁶⁾. This report *De Morte Mori* is entitled:

¹⁾ SweA^{Bel.}, 648; BibBelg., 776; FlandScript., 141-42; Allen, VII, 2065, *pr*; Ent., 93-95, 143-144, 200-201; FG, 140, 20, 393; Ortrov, 85 (where the name is wrongly given as Dumont); &c.

²⁾ Allen, VIII, 2188, 32, *sq*.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp. 31-33.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp. 56-59.

⁵⁾ Basle, F. Episcopus, 1563.

⁶⁾ *Expos.*, 511-530.



EPISTOLA DE / MORTE D. THOMAE MO-ri
& Episcopi Roffensis, insi-/gnium virorum in
Anglia. // G. COVRINVS NV CERINVS / Phil. Mont.
S. D. /// QVONIAM iuxta Pythagorae &c.

It is most surprising that the 'P. M.', who was to be accepted as the author of the *Expositio* in the edition of the beginning of 1536, becomes here the addressee Phil<ip> Mont<anus> ¹⁾; and yet the pamphlet itself, except for its title, is identical with that which was published about the end of 1535 or in the first weeks of 1536; the variants are insignificant, and are evidently due to the compositors rather than to the author or to the editors ²⁾. Yet it appears as if the text of 1563 was not printed from that already published in 1535/36, but from the very document that was sent to the office, twenty-eight years before, for the composition of the *Expositio*. That document, Erasmus' manuscript or a corrected copy of the first issue, evidently remained amongst the printer's papers and passed into F. Episcopus' possession ³⁾. That supposition is suggested by the provident care with which Erasmus treated the rough draughts and the texts of his letters and of all his writings ⁴⁾; in consequence Jerome Froben and Nicolas Episcopus could certify to John Lasky, on December 26, 1536, with reference to the reprinting of Erasmus' works : 'nemo melius aut aequè poterit bene atque nos excudere, quibus multa adhuc ab ipso Auctore recognita & luculenter aucta sint reposita, quae... reseruantur editioni' ⁵⁾. That explains the wealth of original material about Erasmus and his nearest friends which was

¹⁾ Or *Montius*, as Erasmus called him in his letter to Uutenhoven July 1, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2188, 82.

²⁾ They are *Expos.*, 512, l. 18 : hinc illinc, where *EF* has : hinc illuc; *Expos.*, 520, 11, impertire; *EF*, impartire.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp. 87-88, 59.

⁴⁾ Allen, VIII, 2828, pr; P.S. Allen, *Erasmus' Relations with his Printers* : London, 1916 : 25, sq, and *passim*; B. Kruitwagen, *Erasmus en zijne Drukkers-Uitgevers, een fragment uit hunne briefwisseling* : Amsterdam, 1923.

⁵⁾ EE, 1776, A, B. The document reprinted in 1563 by F. Episcopus was first printed in 1536 by his father's partner Jerome Froben, in whose house Erasmus then resided : cp. before, pp. 38, 59.

published at Basle in the XVIth century ¹⁾ by the Frobens and the Bischoffs, and which is still accumulated there in the Library. That difference of names of author and of addressee suggests that Erasmus, who at first called his enlarged report *Epistola* instead of *Expositio Fidelis*, attributed it in the beginning to his amanuensis Gilbert Cousin, who was supposed to write to Philip Montanus, one of his predecessors ²⁾. Hence the address: *G<ilbert> Courinus*, — as Cousin is occasionally called ³⁾, — canon of Nozeroy, in the Jura, *Nucerinus* ⁴⁾, to *Philip Montanus*, his friend and correspondent ⁵⁾. No doubt Erasmus pitched upon them as he generally pitched on people of his nearest surrounding for his imaginary *Colloquia*: he introduced his amanuenses or old-amanuenses Nicolas Kanne and Felix Konings into the *Cyclops*; Hilary Berthulph and Livinus Algoet into the *Concio*; and Quirinus Talesius into 'Ἀστραγαλισμός, along with his guest Charles Utenhoven; his best friends at Basle, Beatus Rhenanus and Boniface Amerbach, carry on *De Rebus and Vocabulis*; and his disappointed hanger-on Henry Eppendorf is caricatured in 'Ἰππεύς 'Ανίππος: even de la Montaigne had already been ushered as *Philippus* into that gallery, along with Livinus Algoet, for *Impostura*, as early as 1529 ⁶⁾.

Before the pamphlet on More and Fisher was printed off, Erasmus must have been aware that it was much more consistent to suppose that the report dated from Paris and reproducing a Paris document, was written by a Paris scholar than by his own servant ⁷⁾; moreover, the anonymousness by which he intended avoiding the displeasure of his English

¹⁾ An example is the long memoir of More to Dorp in defence of Erasmus dating from September 1515, which was edited for the very first time in the *Lucubrationes* of 1563 (*MonHL.*, 154-159); so was his letter about Brie to Erasmus, of March-April 1520: Allen, IV, 1087; *Expos.*, 365, sq, 429, sq; cp. before, p. 62.

²⁾ Gilbert Cognatus entered Erasmus' service by the end of 1530 and left by October 7, 1535: EE, 1514, f- 1515, A.

³⁾ E. g., in the *Epistolæ* of *G. Cognati Nozoreni Opera* (Basle, 1562): III, 169, and in some unedited letters: Allen, IX, 2381 (p. 45).

⁴⁾ *MonHL.*, 49-50; *ErAllen*, 105; Allen, IX, 2381, pr.

⁵⁾ To his letter to Cousin of March 11, 1536, Erasmus added in post-script: 'Philippi Montani ad te epistolam inclusam inveni in vase, dum excuterem': EE, 1520, A.

⁶⁾ EOO, I, 831, 850, 838, 834, 820, 830.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, p. 69.

favourers and protectors, was greatly endangered by attributing it to his amanuensis Cousin. It was indeed evident that the young man, who had never put his foot on English soil, nor had even seen More ¹⁾, was only a mere name-lender. On that account Cousin was dropped all together. As Montanus had served Erasmus only as secretary, and had not been very long in his household, he consequently was not so well known as proper letter-carriers like Algoet and Talesius. Moreover, he had been associated with Paris for several years, and it was with that town that Erasmus wished to connect his pamphlet : it is repeatedly represented as a translation of a French manuscript circulating in the French capital, from where it is dated as early as July 23, 1535 ²⁾. Consequently the title '*Epistola*' and address : '*G. Courinus Nucrinus Phil. Mont. S. D.*', as was written on the manuscript handed to the printer late in 1535 or early in 1536 ³⁾, was changed — not on the manuscript, but on the proof sheets, into : '*Expositio Fidelis*' and : '*P. M. Caspari Agrip. S. D.*'. Twenty-eight years later, when F. Episcopus prepared the edition of More's Latin works, he reproduced the heading on the manuscript still in his possession without altering it, — thus providing a proof that Montanus cannot be considered as the author ⁴⁾. When in 1702, Clericus prepared the volume of Erasmus' letters for the Leyden edition, he inserted the document as : *EPISTOLA CCCLXXVIII* of the Appendix ⁵⁾ with the heading :

GVLIELMVS COVRINVS / NVCKERINVS /
PHILIPPO MONTANO / *s. d.*

No doubt the edition of the beginning of 1536, and its reprints were unknown — or unavailable — to Clericus, for

¹⁾ From 1530 to 1535 only Quirinus Talesius, Quirinus Hagius and Clauthus amongst Erasmus' amanuenses were sent to England : EE, 1453, E, 1466, C, D, 1491, B, 1856, B ; *LatCont.*, 377, sq.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp. 38, 56.

³⁾ Cp. before, p. 64.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, pp. 68-69.

⁵⁾ EE, 1768, B ; the letter has this introductory note : *Sequentem Epistolam sub Nucerinii ejusdem nomine editam, Erasmus eundem auctorem habere persuasum est nonnullis; quicumque vero auctor sit, elegans sane est & legi meretur, duorum Angliæ celeberrimorum Virorum obitus enarrans. Cp. LPH8, VIII, 1096.*

he evidently reproduces the text according to the *Lucubrationes* of 1563; he does not seem to have known much about Cognatus, since he interprets the *G.* of his name as *Gulielmus*.

* * *

When the fictitious paternity of the *Expositio* was attributed to Philip de la Montaigne — or rather to the mere initials 'P. M.', — it was addressed to one *Caspar Agrip.*, — no doubt *Agrippinensis*. Erasmus, most likely, meant with that name a certain *Gaspar* who had paid him a visit in the summer of 1535, and who had left with hearty recommendations to the secretary of the Cologne Chapter, Tilman Buck *a Fossa* ¹⁾. The latter replied on August 17, 1535: 'Gaspar ille, quem mihi tam amice et amanter commendasti, non alio favore et amicitia a me prosequetur, quam si aliquo sanguinitatis titulo mihi astrictus esset. Excepi juvenem humaniter et dimisi comiter, hac tamen lege ut ad me rediret quoties vellet, usus mea industria, studio et labore ad id, quod tua dignitas petiit' ²⁾.

Besides the fact that this young man was of Cologne, — as the name ³⁾, and the mention of repeated visits to Fossa imply, — nothing seems to be known of Caspar Agrippinensis, who possibly is identical with the 'Caspar Montensis, <von dem Berge>, de Colonia', who matriculated for the study of the *Artes* in Cologne University on November 3, 1525, and was admitted to the bachelorship on the 16th of that month ⁴⁾. Most probably he had frequently referred during his stay at Erasmus' house to the Anabaptists, that nightmare of the Cologne people: Tilman *a Fossa* kept the great Humanist informed about Munster's fate ⁵⁾, and Conrad of Heresbach wrote for him a *Historia Factionis Exci-*

¹⁾ Tilman Buck de Graven, *a Fossa*, whose acquaintance Erasmus made in 1517, was, in the last years of his life, one of his most regular correspondents: Allen, III, 610, 47; FG, 354; Krafft, 166-67; *WiedVarr.*, 69, 71, 90-91; Keussen, II, 408. ²⁾ FG, 267, 15-19.

³⁾ Gaspar is one of the Three Kings venerated at Cologne.

⁴⁾ Keussen, II, 877: a Caspar von dem Berge died in 1512 as Cologne councillor.

⁵⁾ Cp. his letters of Aug. 17, 1535: FG, 264, 27-267, 2; of Febr. 3, 1535: FG, 257, 22-258, 8.

diique Monasteriensis in the form of letters ¹⁾. No wonder that the *Expositio Fidelis* to that 'Agrippinensis' closes with an inquiry about the King of Sion, and about the strange rumours just then circulating on his and his adepts' account ²⁾. Still there is no evidence whatever that this Gaspar was more interested in the fate of the English Martyrs than any other man, and it seems as if he was only chosen as addressee in 1535/36 because his connection with Erasmus was generally ignored; possibly he had resided for a time in Paris before he reached Basle, and may have made there Montanus' acquaintance. At any rate he does not seem to have been mentioned after his name appeared on the verso of the title of the *Expositio*.

* * *

It thus follows that the names of the author and of the person addressed as they are given in the *Expositio* are fictitious, and that the real author must have been the man who arranged the publication. That is proved first by the exclusion of the imaginary authors. There is hardly any need to mention Gilbert Cousin, who had neither the personal acquaintance with More and Fisher, nor that with England and London which is shown at every line of the second part of the pamphlet. The authorship of Philip de la Montaigne, which is accepted by some historians ³⁾, is rendered most improbable, if not impossible, by the very fact that it was only decided upon to attribute the paternity to him after it had been first conferred on Cousin, as results from the heading of the document in the edition of More's *Lucubrationes*

¹⁾ They are dated from Dusseldorf, July 28, 1535 and 1536; cp. the edition by K. Bouterwek : Elberfeld, 1866.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 530; Erasmus refers to the Anabaptists in his letter of Aug. 18, 1535 to Goes : EE, 1507, E, F; cp. also 1509, E, 1512, C, D; FG, 273, 19, 275, 24, sq.

³⁾ The Bollandist Fr. van Ortroij, editor of the English *Life and... Death of... John Fysher*, and its Latin translation, pointedly asserted in the introduction to that edition, 1893, that he was able to prove that the *Expositio Fidelis* is neither the work of Erasmus, nor of his secretary Gilbert Cousin, but of 'Philip Dumont', *Montanus*, of Paris. He promised to write about it another time : Nous y reviendrons une autre fois : Ortroij, 35, 65, 66. He never referred to it again in his subsequent papers on More, Erasmus or England (*Analecta Bollandiana*, XXIII to LI).

of 1563 ¹⁾. A second reason which pleads against Montanus' authorship is the surprising difference between the elegant, supple, suggestive style of the *Expositio* and the clumsy and flaccid wording of the letters which de la Montaigne wrote,— such as that of June 21, 1537, — to thank Boniface Amerbach for the money he had received in accordance with Erasmus' will ²⁾ : it is unbelievable that the writer of that indifferent epistle could ever have composed the efficient and concise pamphlet attributed to him.

A third reason is suggested by the abundance of allusions to England and English manners in the *Expositio*, as well as by the intimate acquaintance which the author shows with Fisher and More and with the various members of the latter's family ³⁾. Indeed Montanus had never been in England : during the time that he served Erasmus, Livinus Algoet and, from May 1527, Nicolaus Kanne, *Cannius*, were regularly despatched to cross the Straits of Dover ⁴⁾. For certain Montanus never had seen More, nor his family either, let alone Fisher ; nor was he in any way acquainted with them, as Stapleton most emphatically stated ⁵⁾. He consequently lacked all first-hand experience and knowledge of the facts and details which are vividly and graphically related in the pamphlet, with an accuracy as convincing as reality.

Even the very effort of the author to connect the *Expositio* with Paris provides an argument against Montanus' paternity, although it prompted him to replace Cousin by Montanus as fictitious author : that was certainly more in keeping with appearances, since the latter was then at work there in the College of Tournai ⁶⁾. The repeated statement that the narration of the trial and execution of the martyrs is

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp. 63-67.

²⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VI^a. 71: 79 r; cp. before, p. 62.

³⁾ Cp. before, p. 62, n. 1, and further, pp. 71-73.

⁴⁾ *LatCont.*, 386; *MonHL*, 53; cp. before, p. 66.

⁵⁾ Stapleton, 354 : 'de amicitia aliqua inter Morum & G. Courinum Nucerinum, vel P. Montanum nusquam aliquid reperi vel audiui' : yet he wrote this about 1585 at Douai, where John Harris' widow was still living, and, where on the other hand, many people had known for several years Montanus, who had died only a short while before.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp. 61-62.

taken from manuscript reports circulating in Paris ¹⁾, is evidently intentional; the document is dated from Paris, July 23, 1535 — three days before Montmorency can have had the relation of More's death ²⁾: those unrequired references are a lapwing stratagem to hide the real author ³⁾; for he betrays himself in comparing Henry VIII with Louis XII, who, in June 1499, in similar circumstances, merely sent into exile John Standonck and his disciple Thomas Warnet for having preached violently during the famous quarrel, when the University attacked the King and his divorce; they were, however, recalled before one year had gone ⁴⁾. The mention of that event sounds more natural to Erasmus, who had been an inmate of Standonck's Montaigu College, and was virtually in the University of Paris at the time ⁵⁾, than to Montanus, who then was a boy of four or five in a Flemish country town. This very reference, which is evidently intended to give the impression as if the *Expositio* was written by a Frenchman, or by a man living in France, shows that the author lacked the knowledge which no man in France would ignore: for 'Princesse Jeanne' was famous alike for her strange fate and her holy life. Nor was there any need to call her 'Maria, ni fallor' ⁶⁾; for, sup-

¹⁾ *Expos.*, 511: Quæ... sum narraturus partime schedis Gallice scriptis, qui hic circumferuntur desumpsi; — also 520: Quæ hactenus narraui, fere continebantur in scheda apud Parisios iactata, ac per manus hominum uolitante: quisquis autem scripsit, uidetur actis interfuisse. — No doubt Montanus did inform Erasmus about a report that was circulating in the French capital: cp. before, pp. 60-63, 65-66.

²⁾ Montmorency does not mention the report about More's death in his letter of July 26 to Cardinal du Bellay; on July 29 he had communicated it to the Nuncio: cp. before, pp. 31-32.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp. 58, 65.

⁴⁾ *Expos.*, 526; Renaudet, 306-316; Godet, 27, sq; cp. before, p. 7.

⁵⁾ Erasmus left for Britain in the summer of 1499, but returned on February 2, 1500; he had been kept informed meanwhile by his friend Faustus Andrelinus, a reader at the University: Allen, I, 103, sq, 119, 241, 120, 1, sq.

⁶⁾ *Expos.*, 526; these words are not only a mistake, which is unaccountable in a cultured man who lived his whole life almost in Paris, but even a piece of clumsiness: *Quum rex Galliarum Lodouicus XII... pararet divortium cum Lodouici regis XI filia, Maria, ni fallor, nomine, &c.*: there was not any need to guess at the name, as the phrase would be perfect if broken off at *filia*. Most likely Erasmus was convinced that she *was* called Maria; but as very often when naming names, he was mistaken.

posing that this pamphlet was written by Montanus, any one of his colleagues and fellow-boarders of the College of Tournai would have told him the right name, if he had wanted it; in fact, it seems almost an impossibility that a theologian at work in the University of Paris about 1530 should have ignored the name and the story of the saintly Princess who, three decads before, had founded the spreading order of the 'Annonciade' ¹).

C. THE REAL AUTHOR, ERASMUS

The various considerations which show that Philip de la Montaigne cannot have been the author of the *Expositio*, suggest that it is the work of Erasmus ²). It was, without any doubt, the realization of the wish expressed by Damian a Goes and his friends, and the fulfilment of a duty which, he felt, was his, to consecrate a few pages to the memory of two well-beloved friends ³). To be true, he was afraid of losing the pecuniary support of some English protectors, which made him resort to anonymousness: yet that anonymousness was merely a pretext so as to disown, if necessary, what everybody could easily recognize as his work: Indeed, to the first part of the *Expositio*, reproducing the report of More's trial and death, which he had edited already in the beginning of October 1535, and on which he could not improve as it was based on the relation of a witness ⁴), Erasmus added an introduction and some notes. He starts the preamble by the statement that amongst friends everything is common according to Pythagoras and Euripides, which introduces the communication of the sad news about Thomas More ⁵). But he at once shows that he knows the English customs from personal experience, as he describes how to the right of the Chancellor when he appears in public, a golden scepter provided with a royal crown is carried, and to

¹) Renaudet, 292, *sq.* 301-4, 557; Pastor, III, 439, 505; Constant, 362.

²) It is attributed to him by A. A. Barbier, *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes*: Paris, 1879, IV, 1255; *ErasLaur.*, I, 667; Audin, 396, and *LPH*, X, p. 188.

³) Cp. before, pp. 55-56.

⁴) Cp. before, pp. 37-38, 55.

⁵) *Expos.*, 511.

his left a book. He then provides a sketch of London ¹⁾, mentioning the Tower, Westminster Abbey, the old palace and Westminster Hall ²⁾. Besides those details, Erasmus adds several small, but most precious bits of information about Thomas More and his daughter Margaret, which nobody could ever have provided, unless he had been personally and intimately acquainted with them. The hearty affection and proud admiration for father and daughter ³⁾, which are so repeatedly attested throughout Erasmus' writings, find here a supreme expression in the additions to the narration of the dire events, in which it is almost impossible not to recognize the heart and hand of the old scholar, whose playfulness cannot even forego in his sadness the by-the-way reference ⁴⁾ to the English habit of taking leave by a kiss, which he already mentioned in his *Philodoxus* ⁵⁾. In the second part of the *Expositio*, in which he commented also on the martyrdom of Fisher and of the Carthusians, he provides information which could not have been derived even from the most detailed accounts of letters or of rumours to which he ascribes it ⁶⁾, but only from a long personal experience. That is also evident for the intimate knowledge of England's people and institutions displayed everywhere, which could not be acquired except by a lengthy stay in the most vital centres of the nation. Most decisive for the author's personality is his intimate connection with More, by which he betrays himself : for he was congratulated by all his friends at More's appointment as Chancellor ⁷⁾; he had resided as a guest at Chelsea House ⁸⁾; he had come to know, not only his favourite daughter Meg ⁹⁾, and his other children, but his most cherished relations, and his feelings towards

¹⁾ He even gives the etymology of the name London, which he conceives as Long Down.

²⁾ Cp. *Expos.*, 512, *Ordo*, 1, n.

³⁾ Cp. Hearnshaw, 141-143.

⁴⁾ *Expos.*, 519 : dedit osculum ex consuetudine gentis.

⁵⁾ *Ordo*, note to 261-2; EOO, I, 861, c, V, 678, A; Allen, I, 103, 17-24, IV, p. xx; Cavendish, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* : London, 1885 : 84, 229; Chambers, 71; Brand, II, 139-141.

⁶⁾ *Expos.*, 520, 523, 528, 530.

⁷⁾ *Expos.*, 528 ; Allen, VIII, 2228 ; cp. further, p. 74.

⁸⁾ *Expos.*, 527-30.

⁹⁾ *Expos.*, 518.

them : his deep devotion to Henry VIII ¹⁾; his staunch friendship to Fisher ²⁾, and his veneration for Queen Catherine, who so heartily returned it, that his death was a torture to her ³⁾. Nobody outside England, not even Reginald Pole, could boast of such an intimacy with More except Erasmus and Vives. And that Vives, the upright, staunch, unflinching champion of right and truth, could never have written this second part is clear as daylight ⁴⁾. It forcibly suggests the irenical Erasmus : for ever in search of a reconciliation or an accommodation, preaching clemency to those wielding power, silence and meekness to those who have to submit; frightening the former with the dreadful fame of an Antony and a Nero, exciting pity for the latter by comparing them with Seneca and Cicero, and casting into the scales the amount of good literature which is lost when such men are put to death long before their day ⁵⁾.

Besides the common acquaintance with England and with More and Fisher, Erasmus and the *Expositio* have also many ideas in common. In one of his letters the great humanist expressed diffidence in his moral strength, and said that he was afraid of following Peter's bad example ⁶⁾, — although fully decided to stand by truth if it ever came to the point ⁷⁾. He shared that feeling with Fisher who, on the scaffold, requested the beholders to pray for him for fear of a final denial ⁸⁾; as well as with More, who considered it wrong to court martyrdom, and to put oneself foolhardily in danger of denying Christ 'by impatience of some intolerable torments'; 'God', he said, 'for my presumption might

¹⁾ *Expos.*, 530.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 529.

³⁾ *Expos.*, 530; cp. before, p. 43; SandOrig², 156-57; *LPH8*, VIII, p. xi; Harps., 137; and note to *Ordo*, l. 9.

⁴⁾ *MonHL*, 28-43.

⁵⁾ *Expos.*, 525-526, 527.

⁶⁾ Letter to Pace, July 5, 1521 : Non omnes ad martirium satis habent roboris. Vereor enim ne, si quid inciderit tumultus, Petrum sim imitatus : Allen, IV, 1218, 32-34.

⁷⁾ Me certe neque vita, neque mors distrahet ab obedientia Ecclesiae et a synceritate fidei Christianae : letter to J. Glapion, about April 21, 1522 ; Allen, V, 1275, 28-29.

⁸⁾ Harps., 369 ; Chambers, 334 ; Ortroty, 344.

suffer me to fall'. — In the *Expositio*, the author makes a similar statement : 'Dixerit aliquis pro ueritate mortem oppetendam. At non pro quauis ueritate. Si tyrannus iubeat, Aut abiura Christum, aut pone ceruicem : ponenda ceruix. Sed aliud est silere, aliud abiurare' ¹⁾. Similarly both that author and Erasmus agree in disapproving of More's acceptance of the chancellorship ²⁾, and in rejoicing at the report of his resigning ³⁾. Such identical opinions — at times expressed in identical words ⁴⁾ — are numerous : they range from the pouting for having never been asked for advice by kings ⁵⁾, to the regret that More had not left divinity and all ecclesiastical laws alone ⁶⁾. Both Erasmus and the author of the *Expositio* declare that they would have refused to speak out their minds on theological questions if they had been asked ⁷⁾; further, they abstain from all blame for any of the motives that brought the King to the dire persecution, — although that persecution itself is criticized by both; and, most of all, they completely refrain from all praise, yea, even of a semblant of approval, of the heroic courage displayed by the two victims, and of the admirable spirit and lofty principles that kept up their hearts in the bitter plight ⁸⁾. It is evident that both Erasmus and the

¹⁾ *Expos.*, 524 ; Chambers, 318-9, 339 ; MoreW, 278, 1355, 1454, F ; cp. before, pp. 19.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 528 ; EE, 1348, A ; cp. Ortoy, 397 ; Chambers, 238-39.

³⁾ *Expos.*, 529 ; EE, 1456, E, and especially 1809, A-1812, C, a letter written in 1532 to Bish. Faber about More and his resignation (1811, A). On April 12, 1533 Erasmus announced : 'Morus... deposuit clitellas'; to which John Lasky replied in May 1533 : 'Mori consilium vehementer laudo... : nunc enim in obeundis præsertim ejusmodi magistratibus, præterquam quod ad multa connivendum intereum etiam assentiendum est præter animi sententiam, non facile possit quicquam sine periculo agere' : Herm. Dalton, *Lasciana* : Berlin, 1898 : 153-154.

⁴⁾ E. g., *Expos.* 528 : 'propior... superstitioni quam impietati'; letter to Bishop John Faber, 1532 : 'superstitioni quam impietati vicinior' : EE, 1811, A.

⁵⁾ *Expos.*, 524 ; EE, 1472, C, D.

⁶⁾ *Expos.*, 524-525 ; EE, 1509, C, D : Utinam periculoso negotio se nunquam admiscuisset, & causam Theologicam cessisset Theologis !

⁷⁾ *Expos.*, 524 ; EE, 1472, C : Unde igitur mihi mens tam læva, ut ultro me tam invidioso negotio involverem, ad quod si fuisset rogatus, vel flagitatus, manibus pedibusque fuerim recusaturus.

⁸⁾ On several occasions Erasmus expresses very mild opinions about Henry VIII's divorce, and even about his breach with Rome : EE, 1472, A-F, 1509, C-D, 1513, C-D, 1520, E, 1757, A-B ; SandOrig^a, 79.

Expositio concur in the unequivocal anxiety to keep Henry VIII's fame unblemished ¹⁾; and that anxiety is most surprising as it is not inspired by loyalty, by the consciousness of duty of a subject to the rightful prince. If Fisher and More carefully restrained from all sign of discontent or disapproval of the treatment they received from Henry's hands, their panegyrist was not bound by his duty to imitate that almost excessive meekness: the only explanation possible is that his tongue was tied. That was Erasmus' case. He looked to Henry VIII for gifts and for the payment of the *pensio anglica* ²⁾; consequently in his public writings, as well as in his private letters — which, being passed round and copied, got the value of official documents, — he carefully avoided the least semblance of condemning the King.

* * *

That strange preoccupation to avoid whatever might seem prejudicious to Henry VIII in so far even as to appear callous to the sublime sacrifice of More and Fisher, shown both by Erasmus and by the author of the *Expositio*, evidently proves that they were one and the same person. Still, strangely enough, it has led to the opposite conclusion, since for the latter part of their lives there *seems* to have been a complete estrangement between Erasmus and More, no doubt on account of that, at least apparent, difference of views on the most essential subjects. That difference is pretendedly deduced from their lives and their writings, which are, at times, interpreted more according to prepossession than to historic truth and to perfect understanding ³⁾.

¹⁾ That anxiety is clearly evident from the passages which were suppressed when the report of More's death was edited in the *Expositio*, as results from a comparison with the *Ordo*: cp. further pp. 180, sq. and note to ll 222-37 of that *Ordo*.

²⁾ Cp. FG, 346.

³⁾ That applies to Foxe and to many more recent authors who are blinded by their hatred or partiality, or by any other unscientific disposition with which they started their work; cp. before p. 28-29. Others show a sad lacking not only of theology and philosophy, but also of an elementary knowledge of XVIth century history and even of common sense: cp. e. g., the *Recherches sur Thomas More (Humanisme et Renaissance)*, III, 1986), 22-42.

Sometimes it is inferred from the fact that biographies made in former centuries, such as those by Roper, Harpsfield and even Stapleton, do not make the least mention of any cordial friendship between the two men. Yet it should be borne in mind that those biographies were not devised as historical treatises, but as books intended to satisfy the craving for more information about the doings and sayings of a man who from the very day of his death was considered and venerated as a martyr. It is quite natural that their authors did not want to alarm any one of their timorous readers by mentioning the name of the Humanist whose works were being placed on the *Index*, — not because they are bad or untrue, but because of the mention of bad things which are criticised and might cause scandal ¹⁾. The *Vita* by Stapleton is a fit example : it objects in one or two places to the great Humanist, — most unconvincingly, though, ²⁾ — and

¹⁾ The lives by Roper, Harpsfield and Th. Stapleton were evidently written as devotional, edifying literature for the fellow-believers, rather than as historical treatises; cp. Harps., *xlvij*. Just as under Elizabeth, for example, no books by Catholic controversialists could be imported into, let alone printed in, England, so in Catholic countries books had to be submitted to censure, which was inspired less by scientific solicitude than by a wish to avoid for the general reader all danger of moral or religious impairing. Thus the Louvain edition of More's *Omnia... Latina Opera*, 1566, have (on p. A 6 v) the attestation of Joan. Hentenius stating 'ita correcta [ea] non sine fructu excusa tradi mortalibus posse'... The suppression of a book or a passage is not necessarily a sign of untruth or badness, but implies the fear of harm to the average reader. Thus the books of Erasmus were banished from schools by 1560, as they mention evils which would damage the inexperienced youth — as some trials in the Courts of Justice would do average youths or even grown-ups.

²⁾ Stapleton, 54, 210, namely repeats the common slander that Erasmus should have laid the eggs that Luther brooded : yet if some of his writings were made use of as proof by the Reformers, so were those of St-Augustine and of other Fathers of the Church, yea, even the very Bible. — Stapleton also states (with Harps., 109, 339) that Erasmus was made attentive by More and Fisher to inexact things he had written, and been advised by them to retract those errors in a new edition; that statement is based, for More, on mere tradition and, for Fisher, on a letter (*Farrago*, xxii, 828). Indeed in a letter Fisher mentions misprints in the first edition of the *Novum Instrumentum*, and in two, Erasmus asks his two friends what they advise to rectify in the second, which was expected in 1518 : Allen, II, 592, 18-21, III, 784, 4-7, IV, 1030, 29-31. Meanwhile, all letters between More and Erasmus breathe heartiness and veneration, in so far that each called the other his *dimidium animae suæ*. Cp. *Catalogi Duo Operum.. Erasmi* : Antwerp, 1537 : Os.

yet has to rank him first amongst the friends outside England ¹⁾, and to testify to the hearty intimacy on which their connection was based : so often and so closely, indeed, are Erasmus' name and thoughts interwoven into the whole of that biography ²⁾ that they are as part of the texture of More's life and character. That hearty affection between the two men was not merely expressed in a private letter or at a casual meeting : in his *De Duplici Verborum et Rerum Copia* Erasmus introduced his friend's name in the numerous sentences and variants which he quotes : 'Mori memoriam continenter obtinebo ; ... Arctius Morum meum animo complexus sum, quam ut vivo possit elabi ; ... Clavis adamantinis nostrae memoriae infixus est Morus ; ... Per universum vitæ spacium Mori meminerit Erasmus' ; &c ³⁾. As this book was used in all the schools throughout England, the boys were 'imbibing Erasmus's devotion and deep-sworn affection' to More, who, after 1535, was publicly rebuked by authority. It has even been asked whether the high esteem in which More has been held in spite of royal displeasure and the consequent literary silence, was not largely due to Erasmus' treatment of him in the *De Copia* ⁴⁾.

There can be no doubt as to the close intimacy that united More and Erasmus until the latter's leaving Brabant. From 1521 to their deaths, the letters which, up to then, were regular and frequent, become scarce ⁵⁾, and that has given rise to the supposition that the old cordial friendship had died away ⁶⁾. Still the facts that no letters are known to subsist, does not prove that there were none. Circum-

¹⁾ Stapleton, 67 ; Harps., 136.

²⁾ On the 157 pages which the biography comprizes — excluding the trial and the execution, — I count 40 references to Erasmus, some of which introduce very long quotations.

³⁾ EOO, I, 26, A to 29, E, viz., the whole series of variants for : *Semper dum vivam, tui meminero*.

⁴⁾ *A Famous School Book of Erasmus : De Duplici Verborum et Rerum Copia*, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, CCC : London, 1906 : 166-168.

⁵⁾ Up to October 1521 there are 22 letters to and 22 from Erasmus ; from that time to the end of 1530 there are 8 from Erasmus and 2 from More.

⁶⁾ Unfairly biased papers (e. g., *L'Amitié d'Erasmus et de More entre 1520 et 1535*, in *Bull. de l'Assoc. Guill. Budé*, 50 : Paris 1936 : 10, sq, 15, sq) generally pretend ignorance of existing documents and wrongly interpret those which are used.

stances, moreover, had become most ominous, and the distance between the two friends had become so great that it was most risky for men of their standing to express their minds in letters which could be easily intercepted by enemies and evil-wishers and turned to great harm ¹⁾, as Erasmus had experienced in the autumn of 1519 with his missive to Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg ²⁾. On that account a new way of corresponding was used, which was such that, at no period of their lives, the connection between the separated friends was closer and more regular than between 1522 and 1533. Two or three months every year Erasmus sent his amanuenses to England, where they found a bed and a place at the board ready for them in More's house ³⁾, or certainly paid a visit to him in case they alighted elsewhere ⁴⁾. Those messengers called on their way, at Louvain, on Conrad Goclenius, and, at Mechlin, on the councillor Francis de Cranevelt, whose collection of letters, although deprived of some — without doubt not the least interesting — items ⁵⁾, fully testifies to the confidential information entrusted to them. That does not apply merely to a joke, like that of Luther's and Catherine de Bora's effigies brought by Charles Harst, and shown to the 'friends' in January 1526 ⁶⁾; but to matters of the greatest importance. On July 14, 1527, More entrusted Nicolas Cannius with a letter to Cranevelt on his return to Basle, in which he wrote: 'Hic

¹⁾ Letter from More, December 18, 1526 : Allen, VI, 1770, 64-70.

²⁾ Oct. 19, 1519 : Allen, IV, 1033, *pr*.

³⁾ Thus it is recorded that More *gave hospitality* to Livinus Algoet in the spring of 1523 (*Cran.*, 58, 13, 62, 22, 63, 19) and that of 1524 (*Cran.*, 95, *a*, 113, 13, 115), to Charles Harst from January to March 1526 (*Cran.*, 172, *pr*, 177, 2); to Nicolas Kan, Cannius, in June and July 1527 (*Cran.*, 242, 243, 18, 293, 1; *LatCont.*, 386); to Quirinus Talesius, Erasmus' 'filius charissimus', in the first months of 1528 and the autumn of 1529 (*LatCont.*, 378, 388; Allen, VII, 1953, 1959).

⁴⁾ In the summer of 1531 the Hellenist Simon Grynæus visited England and took Erasmus' messages as he had no amanuensis : *LatCont.*, 378; Allen VI, 1657, *pr*; he called on More : Allen, IX, 2576, 29, X, 2659, 97; Stapleton, 80; so did probably the Basle printer John Bebel early in 1532, and, for certain, the amanuensis Quirinus Hagius, in October 1532 : EE, 1435, E, 1453, E, who then was the guest of a secretary of Chapuys, the Imperial Ambassador : EE, 1466, c; *LatCont.*, 379.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, lxxxvii, xxx-xxvii.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 172, *pr*, 1-5, 177, 1-5.

gerulus minister est Erasmi, recta nunc illum repetens, a quo et fidei nomine, et taciturnitatis ualde commendatur. Huic si quid Erasmo significatum uelis quod litteris nolis committere, tutissime potes credere. Cetera si qua sunt quæ te cupio scire, ex hoc tabellario cognosces' ¹⁾. There need no further proofs that More and Erasmus kept constantly in the most intimate touch, even though few letters subsist. And those that subsist are worth dozens of flimsy, complimentary epistles! They are either introductory letters of the bearers, who went on their errand for the first time, burdened with weighty messages: like that of February 29, 1528, in which Erasmus writes to More: 'Tragoedias meas cognosces ex hoc Quirino <Talesio> meo, iuvene mihi perspectæ fidei; quem, quoniam nouit omnia mea, in Angliam præmittendum arbitratus sum' ²⁾. Or they are like formal testimonials of mutual esteem, chiefly by Thomas More; even if they were written at Erasmus' request to serve as public and formal declarations, as official statements to be shown to various people, they preclude all doubt as to the full agreement of the two friends on doctrine and opinions. The letter of December 18, 1526, by which More beseeches Erasmus to publish the second part of *Hyperaspistes*, proves that he considers his friend as the only antagonist able to vanquish the Reformer ³⁾. No less significative is the letter of June 14, 1532, by which the ex-Chan-

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 242, 6-11; cp. 248, 18-19; on Oct. 28, 1529, More wrote to Erasmus: 'Cetera omnia audies e Quirino <Talesio>, quem accurate omnibus de rebus edocui'; and referring to some *negotia*, he declares 'Ea cuiusmodi sint, e Quirino tuo intelliges': Allen, VIII, 2228, 1-8, 11-12; *MoreCorr.*, 167.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 1959, 9-12; of the same purport is the nearly contemporary letter to Richard Pace, February 20, 1528, in which the same bearer Quirinus Talesius is recommended, not only for his faithfulness: 'quo nemo alius mihi seruiuit amantius':— but also for his reliability: 'Vtrumque cognoscere poteris ex huius iuuenis narratione, quem tibi commendo, mi Pacæ, non vt famulum, sed vt filium mihi charissimum': Allen, VII, 1955, 5-18.

³⁾ Allen, VI, 1770, 18, sq; Erasmus replied March 30, 1527, mentioning his exhausting labour, his weak health and the absolute want of appreciation for all his studies and his efforts, not merely from the adversaries, but even from the larger part of the Catholics: Allen, VII, 1804.

cellor of England announces his resigning, and expresses the regret that he cannot devote himself so much and so usefully to study as his friend does; which leads him to an enthusiastic praise of Erasmus' works, and to the unequivocal statement that in his opinion all the objections and all the criticism brought out against them, are similar and equivalent to those which in former times were brought out by heretics in proof of their false doctrines against the writings of the Fathers of the Church, yea, against those of the Apostles and Evangelists, and even of Our Lord himself ¹⁾).

In his next letter, in the spring of 1533 ²⁾), More emphatically stated once more that the amanuenses brought and took more news than was contained in the written messages : ' Quirinus <Hagius> ... prae ter litteras im par ti vit alia, quae in regionibus istis acta digna cognitu sunt, quae quod me scire voluisti, magnas tibi gratias ago. De rebus tuis omnia potes e Quirino cog no sc ere, qui mihi videtur & probus esse & diligens ³⁾)'.

It follows from that evidence that Erasmus and More remained in close intellectual connection to the last of their lives, and that they were as cordially united in affection and opinions at the very end of their careers as they were in the beginning. More's thorough knowledge of Erasmus is corroborated by the very fact that his friend wished him to write down his appreciation to be used as a voucher against all suspicious and all hostile contradictors, since it implies that no man could judge him better, and that no man's word was more trustworthy. On the other hand that knowledge is attested by Tyndale's objections to More's condemnation of his doctrine, on the ground that he found fault with things which he excused in Erasmus because he was his ' derling friend ' ⁴⁾). More replied without hesitation: ' hadde I founde with Erasmus my derling the shrewde entent and purpose that I fynde in Tyndall : Erasmus my derlyng should be no more my derlyng. But I fynde in Erasmus my derlyng

¹⁾ EE, 1439, F-1441, E, especially, 1441, A-C.

²⁾ EE, 1856, B-1857, C; it answers a letter from Erasmus of February 7, <1533>, and a second brought by Quirinus Hagius, who left Freiburg in April 1533 and returned in July : *LatCont.*, 379-80.

³⁾ EE, 1856, B; *MonHL*, 48; *LatCont.*, 377, 379-381.

⁴⁾ Chambers, 352.

that he detesteth and abhorreth the errorrs & heresies that Tyndall playnly teacheth and abydeth by, and therefore Erasmus my derlyng shalbe my dere derling stil ' ¹). By the argument, of which the lines quoted are only the beginning, More enounces the sound principle that criticism and censuring are good and praiseworthy when they originate from a right love, and are directed towards beneficent correcting; but they are bad and reprehensible if they proceed from hatred or envy, and do not aim at any improvement, but at utter ruin and destruction. If Tyndale criticises the cult of images, it is to abolish that kind of devotion as a heretic; if Erasmus attacks it, it is only for as far as it is an excess and a bad use of a good thing, which he wants to regularize and stabilize as a dutiful son of the Church. It is that spirit of salutary reform in Erasmus which More not only admires and praises, but full-heartedly shares. If Erasmus wrote the *Encomium Moriae*, built on immortal principles, such as : *Be, and not seem ; To thine own self be true ; Do things as they should be done ; Use all creatures and all powers towards the aim for which Divine Wisdom ordained them*, and the like; More, following his example, showed in his *Utopia* how those same principles should be applied in religious and social life, in government and economics ²). Still they did not write those satirical tracts for anything except for producing good results, and they should not have written them if they had known that they would have done harm; they therefore did not want them translated into the vulgar tongue for people who should not be able to see or distinguish in them the immense good for which they had been composed ³).

* * *

¹) *The Confutation of Tyndales Aunswere made Anno .1532. by syr Thomas More Knyghte, Lorde Chancellour of Englande* : MoreW, 422, A, sq; the whole passage is most interesting : More owns that had he or Erasmus known that their writings would have done harm, they would not have written them; neither he nor Erasmus ever attacked a good thing, but merely the excess or the bad use; nor did they address the people, but the learned and educated men : those who translated them, gave them a sense and a use which was never in their intention.

²) Cp. MoreW, 422, D, sq; Chambers, 352; Stapleton, 206-208.

³) Cp. e. g., Constant, II, 161-63, 168, 172, 174; *ShakEng.*, I, 363; G. C. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*: Stratford o. A., 1913: 115, 197.

That spirit which makes criticism and blame a most beneficent agent towards the welfare of man and humanity, irrespective of the ambiguous appearance which it shares with reviling and railing, was common to both Erasmus and More : both of them yearned to make man better, life purer, religion loftier; both of them wanted to introduce reforms in the intellectual ¹⁾ as well as in the social order ; both advocated the same sound views about the repression of heresy ²⁾, and far from ever swerving from one another, they remained united in heart and spirit unto their dying day. That union also included the religious convictions for which Fisher and More gave their lives; for if Nicolas Sander ³⁾ who, in his *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae*, gathers all testimonies of great men in favour of that doctrine, mentions their martyrdom, the Bishop of Rochester's book against Luther ⁴⁾, and the Chancellor's attestations and his seven years' study of the matter ⁵⁾; yet he also quotes several testimonies from the writings of Erasmus, ' etsi ', he adds, ' multa temere scripsit quæ Dei Ecclesiam non ædificabant ' ⁶⁾.

It even results from a letter written by Erasmus' amanuensis Gilbert Cousin that there was full agreement between the two friends on the very question of the King's divorce. That letter written ' ex ædibus Erasmicis ' is not dated : being addressed to Ulrich Zasius, who died Nov. 24, 1535 ⁷⁾, it was evidently sent very soon after the events happened in England.

¹⁾ Thus More as well as Erasmus criticized the excessive use made of Peter Lombardus' *Sententiæ* and their bad influence on theology; the neglect of real research work in that science for the sake of all-important dialectics; the contemptuous rejection of the study of Greek and of the languages useful for the study of the Bible; &c : More *Luc.*, 365, sq, 380, sq, 397, sq; Stapleton, 53, 69-71, 222-23, 260.

²⁾ Cp. e. g., EE, 1810, F, sq.

³⁾ Nicolas Sander, c 1530-1581, studied in Oxford and promoted Doctor of Divinity in Rome, worked and taught in Louvain from 1565 tot 1572, and prepared there his *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae* (Louvain, 1571); he took a large part in the controversies and the efforts of Catholics against Protestants. Cp. Bémont, 40.

⁴⁾ Sander, 564-566.

⁵⁾ Sander, 566-568.

⁶⁾ Sander, 556-558 : yet Erasmus' criticism of abuses was made when they were generally not recognized as abuses; and the shame does not lie in the blaming, but in the deserving the blame; cp. before p. 81.

⁷⁾ *MonHL*, 57.

It discloses some opinions which were clearly those of Erasmus: that the Pope has a right to grant all dispensations, but cannot break what God has united; that extrinsecal considerations, such as the peace of a state, or the want of male descendants, have no value against a marriage; that King Henry was wrong asserting that he had never loved Catherine as his wife, since their children contradicted him; that he was free to adopt a son if he liked, the more so since it is safer choosing than procreating ¹). Cousin emphatically asserts that nobody had written more decidedly on that question than Erasmus had done when arguing against Lee, and in many other places ²): he thus provided unquestionable evidence about the views on that head in the home of the Humanist at Freiburg .

It thus appears that even for the question of the divorce and the spiritual supremacy of the King, there was properly no difference between the opinion of Erasmus and that of the Martyrs ³). Only the Humanist abstained from speaking out his mind in public, as he was dependent on the generosity of Henry VIII and of some of his chief councillors, who would have been prevented from sending any gratification if ever the King's favour was lost. To be sure, that duplicity is not noble; still there was nothing that compelled Erasmus to take a frank position, for the condition of dependence on the generosity of princes and great personages was not chosen by him for mere self-indulgence, but as a means to provide for his incessant labours and editions, which, after all, were undertaken with so much more self-sacrifice for the sake of scholarship, religion and humanity. Fisher, and especially More, understood the almost miraculous intellectual activity of the old scholar ⁴), and for certain did not

¹) The letter is printed on ff [A 8]r-B 2 r of Gilberti Cognati Nozereni *De Iis qui Romæ Ius dicebant olim, deque eorum Origine & Potestate Libellus. Praeterea de Regis Angliae Diuortio Sententia eiusdem ad clariss. Iureconsultum Vdair. Zasium. Vna cum aliquot de Legali Studio Epistolis ejusdem* : Basle, Henry Petri, 1562.

²) De his nemo Erasmo nostro aduersus Leum, & multis alijs in locis absolutius scripsit. Cp. *MonHL*, 34, where it is pointed out that Erasmus most probably knew and approved of Cousin's letter.

³) *ErasLaur.*, I, 640, sq. ; FG, 223, 17, sq.

⁴) On June 14, 1532 More wrote to Erasmus : ' Quis enim praeter te alius id polliceri audeat quod tu praestas ?... quotannis... totius tem-

begrudge him the pecuniary help of which the want became greater with advancing years, and of which the amount rapidly declined, as one protector after the other went the way of all flesh. On the other hand Erasmus' feelings were known to all those who were intimately acquainted with him and with his writings ¹⁾, and could realize the difficulties with which he had to contend. At More's and Fisher's death, he was deeply moved, and wanted to say his say; but fearing the harm that was sure to befall him if he put his name to his pamphlet, he pretended that it was written in Paris by a young scholar to a friend, a native of Cologne.

He put to use all his experience, which was such that his friends and acquaintances did not hesitate in ascribing the *Expositio* to him. That attribution is attested by the tradition faithfully kept by Thomas More's nearest friends, who were all highly interested in his fame and erudition: amongst them More's nephew William Rastell ²⁾; his house-teacher Doctor John Clement ³⁾ and his wife, the martyr's adoptive daughter Margaret Gyge or Giggs ⁴⁾; his secretary John Harris ⁵⁾ and his wife Dorothy Coly, Margaret Roper's handmaid ⁶⁾. That tradition, testifying to what facts and circumstances suggest, lived amongst the exiles in Louvain and in Douai. There Thomas Stapleton gathered it and wrote it down: quoting the text of the *Expositio*, he remarks: 'Erasmi verba primum proferemus, qui etsi tacito suo nomine hæc scripsit (adhuc enim in Anglia amicos habebat

poris tui rationem... editis libris optimis orbi toti nunquam cessas reddere. Quae res... reputantibus universis miraculi vicem hab<et>... '&c: EE, 1440, D.

¹⁾ About the middle of May 1530 Erasmus spoke out his mind quite openly about Queen Catherine and Henry's *liaison* with Anne Boleyn in his letter to James Sadolet: Allen, VIII, 2315, 129-147.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 154, d, e, 115, a; Sander, 680; Bridgewater, 405-6; Bang, 238, sq, 247-48; cp. further, pp. 106-110.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 154, c-f; Sander, 676, 686, 688; Bridgewater, 405-6; Bang, 246-47; Stapleton, 60-61, 221-22, 238; GasqPole, 69; Harps., 362.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 154, c-e; Sander, 688; Bang, 246-47; GasqMon., I, 223.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, lxxxvi, 115, a, b, 151, pr, 177, pr; Sander, 678, 684, 686, 688; Bridgewater, 405-6; Bang, 235; he matriculated in Louvain, Nov. 19, 1565 (*LibIntIV*, 421r), where he lived some time; he died at Namur.

⁶⁾ Sander, 684; *Cran.*, lxxxvi, 115, a, b, 154, c; MoreW, 1457, G; after her husband's death, she went to live at Douai where she provided ample information to Stapleton for his *Vita Mori*; see p. 85.

quos retinere cupiebat) tamen stilus & modus scribendi apertissime clamant authorem illum esse, maxime cum in epistolis eadem fere, sed sparsim scripserit ' ¹). After quoting a lengthy passage, Stapleton points out that Erasmus forgets that he is to be anonymous, and betrays himself, by talking in his own person of his intimate friendship with More: ' Hæc Erasmus. Nam paulo post oblitus fabulæ personam plane prodit his verbis: *Proinde mihi gratulantibus* &c ²). Hæc iam in sua persona Erasmus, vt non sit dubium totum hoc scriptum Erasmicum fuisse. Nam de amicitia aliqua inter Morum & G. Courinum Nucerinum, vel P. Montanum nusquam aliquid reperi vel audiui ' ³). And yet this was written in the town where the memory of Philip de la Montaigne was not extinct, and where was still residing, at the time when Stapleton wrote, Dorothy Coly, the widow of John Harris, who as secretary of the father had gathered ample notes, whilst she herself, as confident of the beloved daughter Margaret, was the very person who could supply the fullest and the most trustworthy information ⁴).

* * *

Erasmus was liable to make slips; he forgot in the *Expositio* that he was to write as a stranger and dropped into the first person; so he also inserted an incorrect detail into it, referring to Richard Reynolds, *Reginaldi*, confessor of the Bridgettine Convent of Syon, one of the foremost scholars of that time, executed with the first Carthusians, on May 4, 1535 ⁵). Erasmus mentioned, namely, that he had made his acquaintance on a visit to England in the train of Cardinal Campegio: ' quum in comitatu Cardinalis Campegii

¹) Stapleton, 352: the quotation (from the part added by Erasmus: *Expos.*, 524-527) was taken from the edition by John Steels, Antwerp, 1536, as results from a marginal note, which also adds that the pamphlet reprinted by Episcopus in Basle, 1563, mentions as author ' G. Courinum Nucerinum Philippo Montano scribentem '.

²) *Expos.*, 528.

³) Stapleton, 354.

⁴) Stapleton, 7; *Cran.*, lxxxvi; Bridgewater, 406, r; Ortrov, 354; Chambers, 38-39.

⁵) *DNB*; Ortrov, 402, 409; *SandOrig*², 127; Sander, 568; Cooper, I, 52, 530; Froude, II, 249, sq; Gairdner, 156-157; Chambers, 322-326.

uersarer in Anglia' ¹⁾. He possibly may have met Reynolds in Cambridge, who was there at study in Christ College, and promoted Bachelor in 1513; but he cannot have seen him in England as one of Campegio's train ²⁾: that legate was sent to Henry VIII a first time in the summer of 1518, for the Turkish Crusade, and a second, in the autumn of 1528, on the matter of the divorce. Erasmus did not set foot on British soil after April 1517 ³⁾; so he cannot have met Reynolds there in 1518 nor in 1519 ⁴⁾, and for certain not in 1528 — in the supposition that 'in Anglia' refers to the meeting of Erasmus and Reynolds on English soil. For it is possible that Reynolds accompanied Campegio on his return from England, when Erasmus went to greet him in Bruges about August 28, 1519, and travelled with him probably as far as Brussels ⁵⁾: in that case 'in Anglia' does not refer to Erasmus and Reynolds, but to Campegio's legateship. If even on that occasion the meeting did not take place, this sentence may just be a quotation from a friend's letter — either Pole or Pace ⁶⁾, or Campegio himself — with reference to one of the Cardinal's stays in England, and to the presence of Reynolds in his suite. It may even be a detail added by Erasmus on purpose to throw off the semblance that he should have been the author ⁷⁾, so as to strengthen the impression produced by the attribution to de la Montaigne and the dating from Paris before the first report arrived there,

¹⁾ *Expos.*, 521. Cp. Ehses, *xvi-xxxi*; Allen, III, 961, *pr.*

²⁾ Allen, III, 961, *pr*; EE, 1458, F-1459, F.

³⁾ Allen, II, 577, *pr.*

⁴⁾ From May to October 1518 Erasmus was in Basle; on his return to Louvain he was laid up with an illness for some time; he stayed in that town for two years with the exception of an occasional trip to Mechlin, Antwerp or Brussels, without leaving the country: Allen, III, 842, 848, 867, &c. On May 1, 1519 he had not seen Campegio yet: Allen, III, 961, 8.

⁵⁾ Allen, IV, 1025, 4, 1029, 28, 1031, 2, 1062, 186.

⁶⁾ Richard Pace, royal secretary, did what he could in 1519 to bring Erasmus and Campegio together: Allen, IV, 996, 18-25.

⁷⁾ P. S. Allen and the continuators of his work (Allen, IX, 2381) conclude that since the writer of Guliel. Courinus' letter was with Campegio in England in 1528, it 'excludes also Erasmus, to whom the letter seems to have been attributed by Oporinus (*Blaurer Briefwechsel* (letter 646))': still Oporinus only referred to the first part of the *Expositio* printed in October 1535, which certainly was edited by Erasmus: cp. before, p. 38.

and to provide an evident alibi, if ever he should be charged with having written the *Expositio*.

D. HISTORY OF THE EXPOSITIO

Erasmus is characterized by an intuitive sense which revealed him what would impress the more cultured part of humanity and the best way to avail himself of that intuition. Few of his publications produced a more general effect on the feelings of his contemporaries than that intimate and natural sketch of the martyrs by an affectionate and admiring friend, possibly just because the tone sounds so real and convincing by being sober and rather reserved. Whereas the efforts of the King and his assistants tried to spread the suspicion of the Martyrs' guilt by rumours or libels ¹⁾, the *Expositio* brought the true story, in an effective and convincing way, to all enlightened contemporaries, and More and Fisher became as bywords of heroic defenders of truth and conscience.²⁾ As answers to the King's accusations, writings were composed that glorified them and criticized Henry VIII; such were Cochlaeus' *Defensio Fyscheri et Mori* ³⁾, and Pole's *Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione* ⁴⁾, besides other contro-

¹⁾ E. g., *Oratio de Dignitate et Potestate Regis*, 1535, by Rich. Sampson, dean of the Royal Chapel; cp. before, 27. ²⁾ Stapleton, 349; Harps., 359.

³⁾ *Defensio Clarissimorum Virorum Joannis Fyscheri episcopi Roffensis et Thomae Mori... adversus Rich. Sampsonem Anglum, per Joannem Cochlaeum* [1536]. This tract contains two extracts from letters of More to Erasmus, the *Tabula affixa ad sepulchrum*, the *Epitaphium* and a *Passio Episcopi Roffensis et Thomae Mori per C. G. descripta*, besides four letters from More to Cochlaeus: *CochSpahn*, 258, 359; *LPH8*, VIII, 975; Stapleton, 354-55. — On Jan. 6, 1536, Cochlaeus wrote to Henry VIII, that, if lately he had offered him a book, it was only because he had been misled by the King's apparent good intention: he now is encouraged by Fisher's and More's examples of constancy: *LPH8*, X, 34. — In that same year Moryson answered Cochlaeus' 'mad' book against Henry VIII; he represents More and Fisher as having been causes of sedition instead of martyrs: 'I do not accuse More, but there are who say that he was cruel to men: just for game and play he bound them to trees and had them beaten': *LPH8*, X, 458, 1273.

⁴⁾ Pole took the defence of his great friend More; he refers to Bishop Fisher, to the martyred Carthusians and Bridgettines, especially to one whom he knew personally — no doubt Reynolds; he further mentions Margaret Roper. His book was finished, it seems, by the end of 1536; still it was only published about 1538: *LPH8*, X, 975; Stapleton, 350-352.

versial or biographical compositions ¹). Yet hardly any of those attacks on the King and his collaborators were as painful a thorn in their flesh as Erasmus' narrative of More's and Fisher's death. On or about March 12, 1536, Thomas Tebold, *Theobaldus*, writing from the neighbourhood of Berne to a man in power in England, apparently the Earl of Wiltshire, expresses his astonishment 'that no answer is made to Erasmus' epistle about More and Fisher' ²). No doubt it was on that account that a letter was written in March 1536, seemingly to an English protestant in Germany to point out that it is surprising that the addressee, — who remains unnamed as well as the writer, — should blame the King for putting to death More and Fisher, and that the Germans, who sincerely believe in the Gospel, should consider Henry VIII cruel for punishing such enemies of the word of God ³). It proved most dangerous to be caught carrying a copy of the *Expositio* in one's pocket, as follows from three much mutilated letters from one Salvatore, an Italian, who, in May 1536, wrote to an unknown correspondent, that if the Pope is really the Vicar of Christ, *Magister More* and the others, who were executed in defence of that doctrine, were certainly martyrs; he added that he had been shown a letter containing, or referring to, the '*actus magistri Mori*' who recently died for it, — no doubt the report which was the original to the *Expositio*, or the *Expositio* itself ⁴). On May 19 following, he addresses a Genoese merchant, J. B.

¹) E. g., Chauncy, who made an *encomium* of his *confratres* the Carthusians (cp. further pp. 91-92), Paul Jovius (Stapleton, 355-356), William Paradinus (Stapleton, 356-357), Joh. Rivius Atthendoriensis (Stapleton, 357-359), Janus Secundus (Stapleton, 357; cp. further, *App.* I, a), besides the shorter notices in the histories of the Protestants Sleidanus and Carion (Stapleton, 357). An Italian, Zanobio Ceffino, made a poem on Henry VIII's schism and More's death, dedicated to Signor Baldassar da Pescia (Rome, May 11, 1536): that poem comprising 93 stanzas of 8 lines is preserved in *BritMus.*, *Addit. MS.* 21982: *LPH8*, X, 844. Occasional references to More occur in *LPH8*, X, 107, 1036, XI, 1422.

²) *LPH8*, X, 458: Tebold mentions that Cochlaeus wrote madly against the King for the death of More and Fisher; cp. before, pp. 23-24.


³) *LPH8*, X, 587.

⁴) *LPH8*, X, 924: '... litteras in quibus trattabatur actus magistri Mori...'; the letter is fragmentary and breaks off in the middle of the sentence in which the writer expresses his own opinion: 'Sed postquam literas illas perspexerim, dixi amice ///'.

Salvago, residing in London, and implores his intercession; for, he declares, when he was on his way to Paris in order to study the Primacy of the Pope, he was arrested and put into prison ¹⁾ at Calais on account of 'una litera laqual contenia lu actu di maystro Moro' ²⁾. A few days later, on June 7, 1536, he writes to Cromwell 'da le Carzare de Cales', requesting to be released from custody, into which he has been taken on account of 'una littera di lu actu di Maystro Moro, quando fo decapitato', which he had on him, and he urges the plea that it is not at all contumelious to the King ³⁾.

* * *

Meanwhile the famous pamphlet, which was proscribed in England, was issued twice in Antwerp in 1536. One of these reprints is dated *Mense Aprili* 1536, which helps to indicate about what time the *Expositio* was first published ⁴⁾. The title of that issue ⁵⁾ is as follows :

 EXPOSI-/TIO FIDELIS DE MOR-/te D. Thomae Mori, & quorun-/dam aliorum insignium/virorum in Anglia /...// woodcut /// Anno. M. D. XXXVI.

On *f A ij r* begins the letter of 'P. M. Cas-/pari Agrip. S. D.// Quoniam ivxta/ Pythagoræ' &c. — which finishes on *f B 7 v*, and is followed by the date : 'Apud Lutetiam Parisiorum/ x. Cal. Augusti. Anno m. d. xxxv.' — by the word 'F i n i s .' and the colophon : 'Excudebat Antver-/piæ Guilielmus Spyridipoeus Iunior. / Anno a Nativitate Christi / M. D. XXXVI. / Mense Aprili. / ...' ⁶⁾ The other edition ⁷⁾ has as title :

¹⁾ LPH8, X, 925.

²⁾ LPH8, X, 925 : the letter has 'me donascino'.

³⁾ LPH8, X, 1081.

⁴⁾ Cp. before p. 59.

⁵⁾ In-4^o; two quires; *sign.* A⁸ B⁸; A₁ v and B₈ r are blank, B₈ v has the printer's device with the inscription 'Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐνεστὶ Συκοφάντου δῆγματος. — Nullum adversus Sycophantæ/morsum remedium.

⁶⁾ The issue is described in NijKron., I, 916 (copy in the Amsterdam Univ. Lib.).

⁷⁾ In-4^o; two quires; *sign.* A⁸ B⁴; A₁ v and B₄ v are blank; B₄ r has the publisher's mark (Io. STEELSIUS : *MarqTyp.*, n^o 4 or 5). The issue is

EXPOSITIO /FIDELIS DE MOR /TE D. THOMAE /
Mori, & quorundam / aliorū insignium / virorum
in / Anglia. /// Antuerpiae in ædibus Ioan.
Steelsii, / Anno M. D. XXXVI.

The text begins on *f* A₂ *r* : ' P. M. CASPA / RI AGRIPPAE /
s. d. / ' — It ends on *f* B₂ *r* with the date of the document :
...Apud Lutetiam / Parisiorum. x. Cal. Augusti / ANNO
M. D. / XXXV. On B₃ *v* there are two epitaphs on More ¹⁾:
State viri, forte... (8 ll), and *Hospes. Quis iacet...* (8 ll), and on
B₄ *r* the colophon : Typis Ioannis Graphei. Anno / M. D.
XXXVI. — followed by Steelsius' mark.

About the same time as those reprints, a German translation was published without name of printer or date ²⁾, under this title :

Glaubwürdiger bericht vō / dem Todt des Edlen
Hochgelerten Herrn / Thome Mori ' vnd anderer
herlicher Men / ner in Engellandt getödtet ' durch
ein / Epistel eynem guten freunde zuge- / schickt '
auss Latein in Teutsch / vertholmetschet.

On *ff* a₁ *v* — a₂ *r* there is a dedicatory letter : ' Datum
Colmar in eil, mitwochs den xxii. Decembris Anno M. D.
xxxv. ' signed by ' Gregorius Wickgramm, Gerichtschreiber
<clerk of the Court> zu Colmar ', and addressed to
Frederic von Hadstadt, the Imperial Agent and Councillor
in Upper Alsatia ³⁾. The author Gregory Wickgramm ⁴⁾ mentions
in it that, having recently received a letter in Latin about
the death of Thomas More and other Englishmen (no doubt,
Erasmus' narrative), he hastened to translate it ⁵⁾.

described under NijKron., I, 917 (copy in the Dyce Collection, D. 9. F.5,
Catalogue 6770, Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

¹⁾ The poet's name (J. Secundus) is not added : cp. further, p. 200.

²⁾ In-4^o; four quires, *sign.* a⁴b⁴c⁴d²; the text is set in black letter. Cp.
LPH8, VIII, p. 996 (copy in *BritMus.* : press mark 697. C. 43).

³⁾ ' Dem edlen und Vesten junckeren Friderichen von Hadstadt,
Römischer, Vngarischer, vñ Bohemischer Regii Maj. &c. Regenten
vñ Rhat in oberen Elsass &c. meinem günstige junckern '.

⁴⁾ Conrad and Peter Wickgram were the nephews, and the latter, the
successor, of John Geiler of Kaisersberg (†1510), preacher of Strass-
burg Cathedral : *Geiler*, 509, 517, 560, *sq*; *Wimpf.*, 249, 301.

⁵⁾ Cp. above pp. 59-60; there is, at the least, always the possibility

The text starts on *f a₂ v* : Dieweyl alle dynng (nach der meynung und Leere des Pythagoras) &c; it finishes on *f d₂ r* : Gebenn zu Pariss in Franchreich den xxiiij tag des Monats Julij Anno m. d. xxxv.

Another translation into German with the following title was published, also without any date or name of printer ¹⁾ :

Ein glaubwirdige anzaygung des tods Herrn
Thome Mori... Lutetiæ Parisiorum. 1536.

* * *

From its first appearance the *Expositio Fidelis* became a very *locus classicus* : it was quoted and referred to by most of those who wrote about More's martyrdom. Maybe William Rastell reproduced in *Sr. Tho Moore's Lyfe* at least one detail from its second part, namely the great joy that animated Fisher when he returned from the Court after his condemnation, as if from a 'great and honorable fest' because he was so near his life's aim : 'Dixisses', Erasmus wrote, 'hominem ex hilari suauique redire conuiuio, ... sanctissimum uirum, ceu iam portui uicinum, toto pectore ad illam beatam tranquillitatem aspirare' ²⁾.

The *Expositio* was reprinted, at least in part, in the greater number of the many works on the English Martyrs. Already in 1536 John Fischart, publishing his *Virorum Illustrium Vitae* (printed by C. Egenolph, Frankfurt, in September 1536), inserted the life of More, narrated by Erasmus to Hutten, Antwerp, July 23, 1519 ³⁾, and added that part of the *Expositio* which relates the Martyr's death.

In his *Historia aliquot nostri sæculi Martyrum in Anglia, cum pia, tum lectu iucunda*, a Carthusian refugee on the

that Wickgram antedated his version, as Erasmus did the *Expositio*: it would explain why Erasmus did not send a copy of this second edition to Goes, nor put off writing a letter for a few days on December 15, 1535 : EE, 1515, E; cp. above, pp. 39, sq.

¹⁾ There is a copy of this version in the British Museum : press mark 699. g. 36 : cp. Sampson, 426; Harps., 256.

²⁾ *Extract III* (in Ortroy, 411, 333-334); *Expos.*, 522; EE, 1767, D. Possibly Erasmus used Rastell's information or a common source.

³⁾ It was first published in the *Farrago Nova Epistolarum* (Basle, J. Froben, October 1519 : pp. 329, sq); cp. Allen, IV, 999, pr.

continent, Maurice Chauncy ¹⁾, relates More's defence at Westminster Hall, and his further adventures, his last words and his death, most probably from the first edition of the *Expositio* (October 1535), as the introductory notice about London is absent. It is preceded by the text of the '*Tabula affixa ad Sepulchrum Thomæ Mori*' and by a short biographical notice; on which follows the narration of the execution of the Carthusians and of Fisher in quite different wording from that of the *Expositio* ²⁾. Chauncy had found shelter in the Netherlands in 1537; still it is not known whether his *Historia* was first published there. It was printed at Mayence in 1550 with the mention: '*nunquam antehac typis excusa*' ³⁾.

That edition, was dedicated by the prior Vitus von Dulcken, *Dulckenius*, and the procurator William of Sittart, of the Charterhouse of St. Michaelsberg, near Mayence, to their Cologne 'confrater' Thierry Loher, a *Stratis* ⁴⁾, by their

¹⁾ Maurice Chauncy, born in 1513 at Ardeley, was educated at Oxford and went to Gray's Inn to study law. In 1533 he entered the London Charterhouse, and was amongst those Carthusians who signed the Oath of Supremacy: he bitterly regretted it in after life. In 1537 he left for the Charterhouse of Val-de-Grace, in Bruges, where he remained until 1555, when he was ordered to restore the London monastery of Sheen. He became prior of that community, which in 1559 he led into exile to Bruges, thus starting the priory *Sheen Anglorum*. He was one of Cardinal Allen's best friends and, like he, lived a most eventful life amongst the religious dissensions and political troubles of the period. He died on June 12, 1581, near Paris, returning from a journey to Spain to look for help in his and his brethren's need: Guilday, 41-48; Chambers, 321, 323, 326; Strype, I, 317; Wood, I, 159-160; Hendricks, *The London Charterhouse*: London 1889: 307, sq; Morris, 12, 25-26; GasqMon., I, 191, sq, 202, 208, sq; Froude, II, 238-59; Constant, 423, 497, 500, 773.

²⁾ Chauncy had witnessed the difficulties created by Cromwell to the Carthusians and the valiant struggle of prior Houghton and his brethren: his relation of their troubles and their death is one of the authorities in the history of the Charterhouse: Morris, 25-26.

³⁾ Chauncy afterwards published a shorter and corrected relation in his *Passio Minor*: Chambers, 326. — The *LPH* 8, VIII, 886 (4) notes that a manuscript of Chauncy's works on the Martyrdom of More, Fisher and the Carthusians reposes in Cambridge (MS. 1.266). Cp. before, p. 47.

⁴⁾ Thierry Loher, *Loerius*, born at Stratum, was then at the head of the Carthusian convent of Buxen, near Memmingen, after having been prior in that of Hildesheim. He had entered the Cologne Charterhouse on January 10, 1520, successively becoming sacristan, 1525, and 'vicarius', 1530; he was entrusted with the mission of restoring destroyed

letter dated July 1550. It was reprinted several times in various countries ¹⁾.

In 1580 was published in Rome a *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, by A. M. Graziani, in which he makes use of the *Expositio* for his biographical notices of More ²⁾ and of Fisher. In the following year, 1581, the last hand was put to a manuscript 'Account of the Trial and Execution of Sir Thomas More 1535', by Odinet Godrand, president of the Parliament of Burgundy, who died about that time; that *Account* seems a compilation without authority ³⁾.

Far more important is another manuscript work, *The Lyfe and maner of Death of ... John Fysher, Byshop of Rochester*, dating from the latter sixties or from the seventies of the xvith century ⁴⁾: use was made for it of the *Expositio*, especially for the incident of the letters between the two martyrs during their imprisonment, and for More's profession of faith on the pronouncing of his sentence ⁵⁾.

Even more outstanding is Thomas Stapleton's famous *Vita Thomae Mori*, in his *Tres Thomae* ⁶⁾; for the relation of the final trial, especially for the incident of the meeting of Mar-

or badly managed convents, and he officiated several years as *visitor* of the German province. He died at Würzburg, August 26, 1554. He edited the lives and the works of two famous Cologne Carthusians, Denys de Ryckel and prior Peter Blommeveen; he himself wrote several devotional books: *BibBelg.*, 823-24; Paquot, VIII, 123-129; Greven, J., *Die Kölner Kartause*: Munster i. W., 1935: 12, 56-85, and, for his connection with Chauncy, 69, 80.

¹⁾ In Munich in 1573; at Burgos in 1583 (under the supervision of Theotimus of Bragance, Archbishop of Evora); in Brussels in 1608; and, more recently, at Montreuil, in 1888, and in London in 1890. The erudite Carthusian Arnold Havens is said to have shortened and corrected the text: cp. J. H. Coppens, *Beschrijving van het Bisdom van 's Hertogenbosch*: Hertogenbosch, 1841: II, 330.

²⁾ *De Ioa. Fishero et Thoma Moro*: pp. 193-205, 176, 184. N. Pocock, *Records of the Reformation*: Oxford, 1870: II, 553-65, wrongly considered a manuscript copy of that notice of the Martyrs in the Vatican as a contemporary record: Ortrov, 65-66.

³⁾ The manuscript in Latin, adorned with an illumination representing More's execution, comprises 27 pp. and reposes now in the British Museum: *Addit. MS.* 28.786. f. 3: cp. Papillon, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs de Bourgogne*, quoted by *LPHS*, VIII, 997.

⁴⁾ Ortrov, 70, sq.

⁵⁾ Ortrov, 35, 65-66, — and 332-334.

⁶⁾ Douai, 1588.

garet Roper with her father ¹⁾, the author, although referring also to Pole's and the Cardinal of Capua's narratives ²⁾, follows Erasmus' text so closely that in many phrases the very words of the *Expositio* are reproduced, not merely in the evident quotations, or in the retorts and speeches as they fell from More's lips, but in remarks added and in considerations brought forward in the narration ³⁾.

Nearly half a century later, John Roberti included More's praise amongst the *Sanctorum Quinquaginta Jurisperitorum Elogia* (Liège, 1632), a eulogy inspired by the *Expositio* ⁴⁾.

When, in 1737, Bishop Gilbert Burnet's English translation of the *Utopia* ⁵⁾ was published for the second time, he added a short account of More's 'Life and Trial' ⁶⁾ based on the *Expositio*, reprinted in subsequent issues ⁷⁾.

Finally the *Expositio* was reproduced in 1729 by Frederic James Beyschlag, in his *Sylloge Variorum Opusculorum* ⁸⁾, in a chapter entitled: *Anonymi Epistola de Morte Thomæ Mori, Supremi Cancellarii Angliæ sub Rege Henrico VIII.* As introduction to the narration, Beyschlag quotes a short biography, the *Elogium Mori* by George Lily, *Lilius Britannus* ⁹⁾, and reference is made to the praise bestowed on the Martyr by Paolo Jovio ¹⁰⁾. Then follows the *Expositio Fidelis* &c, reproducing the letter 'P. M. Caspari Agrip. s. d.' ¹¹⁾ as far as it relates More's trial and death ¹²⁾.

* * *

¹⁾ Stapleton, 319-332, 352-354; cp. Sand *Orig*^s, 139-145; Bridgewater, 295 v, 383 r. ²⁾ Stapleton, 319.

³⁾ Cp., especially, Stapleton, 381-32; and *Expos.*, 518-20.

⁴⁾ Paquot, V, 357-58.

⁵⁾ London, 1684: Sampson, 434.

⁶⁾ Dublin, R. Reilly for G. Risk, G. Ewing and W. Smith, 1737.

⁷⁾ Sampson, 434-35. I have not seen Duplessis, *Recueil des dernières heures & dernier discours de More*: Genève, 1680-81.

⁸⁾ Halle a. S., 1729; I, 235, sq.

⁹⁾ Quoted from his *Descriptio Britanniae* &c.: Venice, 1548: 53-54; *Sylloge* &c., 238-42; Sampson, 426.

¹⁰⁾ *Elogia Doctorum Virorum*: Basle, 1571: 209-10, 211-2 (Fisher.)

¹¹⁾ The editor states that the pamphlet he reproduces does not indicate the place where it is printed, although the letter it reproduces is dated from Paris, 1535. He then adds: 'In titulo exempli mei pervetusta — forte ipsius auctoris — manus adscripsit: Gregorio Curtio Praeceptoris suo & Dn. optimo dono dat'.

¹²⁾ *Expos.*, 511-520; on p. 257 of the *Sylloge* the report of Fisher's death is broken off: 'Paucis diebus, hoc est, xv Cal. Julias IOANNES

Of a special nature is the use made of the *Expositio Fidelis* by Nicolas Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury under Queen Mary ¹⁾, for ' *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More* ', whose great admirer he was. He composed that biography from 1555 to 1557 ²⁾, with the help of More's letters and works, which were being edited by Rastell (April 1557), of William Roper's manuscript *Lyfe* ³⁾, and above all, of the documents and the information he gathered from some of the most interesting members of More's *familia*, namely the Clements and the Rastells, with whom he had lived in exile in Louvain ⁴⁾. For the trial they must have referred him to the *Expositio Fidelis* of their friend Erasmus, and probably on their advice, he joined Roper's report to that of the debate on the three accusations, thus reconstructing history, as the lately discovered *Indictment* amply substantiates⁵⁾. The entire argumentation of the ex-Chancellor against his accusers and the justification of his silence after the sentence was given, has been taken over from the *Expositio*, and not from the 'French News-letter' ⁶⁾. Indeed it would be absurd to suppose that an Englishman should use a foreign manuscript version where a printed Latin text is at hand, especially if that be translated by a friend like Erasmus from an English original ⁷⁾. A comparison of the text amply proves that : the French version very often shortens passages, which are found similar in English and Latin ⁸⁾. The wording of Harpsfield and the *Expositio* is equivalent in many places where the French misses some details : e. g., ... ' the Statute to be good, iust and lawfull ' ; *edictum esse bonum, iustum ac sanctum* ; ' tel statut estoit bon et saint ' ⁹⁾ ; — ' I will not

PHISCHEVVS, Episcopus Roffens. &c. NOTA : Cetera ad Institutum meum non pertinentia... omittere cogor', with the offer to publish the whole pamphlet in a next bundle if anybody wishes to have it. Then follows Erasmus' letter to Margaret Roper : pp. 258-60.

¹⁾ Harpsfield born in 1519, was put into prison under Elizabeth, and died there Dec. 18, 1575 : Harps., *clxxv*, sq. ²⁾ Harps., *xxi*, sq. *xlv*.

³⁾ Harps., 100, *ccii-iii* ; Roper, *xxv*, sq.

⁴⁾ Harps., *clxxx*.

⁵⁾ Harps., *cciii*, *ccx*, 269, sq, 348 ; cp. further, pp. 184-85.

⁶⁾ Harps., 183-200 ; the editors of Harpsfield's *Life* consider the Paris News-letter as the original of the *Expositio*, of which they ignore the genesis : Harps., 254-55 ; Chambers, 334.

⁷⁾ Harps., *cxciii*, *cc* ; Stapleton, 352, sq.

⁸⁾ E. g., Harps., 186, 4-15, and 261, 4-11 ; *Expos.*, 514-5. — Harps., 187, 18-188, 11, and 262, 11-15 ; *Expos.*, 516.

⁹⁾ Harps., 185, 30, and 260, 23 ; *Expos.*, 515.

sticke... to vtter my selfe'; *ipse non grauabor recitare*; 'je veulx volontairement en dire'...¹⁾; — ... 'any seculer and temporall'; *Laicus, aut ut uocant, secularis*; 'ung temporel'...²⁾; — ... 'for the discharge of my conscience'; *ad exoneramandam conscientiam*; 'pour la déclaration de ma conscience'³⁾ — and similar divergencies in wording and details⁴⁾. Moreover Harpsfield has many particularities which are taken from the second enlarged edition of the *Expositio*, such as the staff on which More was 'susteyning his weake and feeble body'⁵⁾, and Margaret Roper's sadness that made 'mourne and weepe'⁶⁾ several of the onlookers; they are absent from the French text, and amply prove that he employed Erasmus' report. Still he used his own discretion, changing, for instance, the 'octo paria epistolarum' into 'diuers letters'⁷⁾ whilst adding a detail right and left as explanation⁸⁾. It moreover appears that in the beginning he worked on a copy of the first *Expositio*, which must have called More's resistance to the King's second marriage, *error*, whereas the second describes it as *delictum*: 'And for this mine errour (if I may call it an errour'...⁹⁾. Still as a diligent author he examined the second edition as soon as he heard of it, and derived from it what he thought would perfect, or at least complete, the picture of the hero he was sketching with as much care as admiration.

¹⁾ Harps., 186, 24, and 261, 18; *Expos.*, 515.

²⁾ Harps., 195, 11, and 263, 15; *Expos.*, 517.

³⁾ Harps., 196, 18, and 264, 7; *Expos.*, 517.

⁴⁾ E. g., Harps., 186, 10 (Namelye when...) and 261, 8 (pourveu que...); *Expos.*, 515 (maxime si ...) ; &c.

⁵⁾ Harps., 184, 12-18; *Expos.*, 512: *baculo innixus... corpore graui aegrotatione in carcere debilitato*.

⁶⁾ Harps., 199, 26-29; *Expos.*, 519: *Erant & inter satellites... qui lachrymas tenere non potuerunt*. — Similarly Margaret's loss of all respect of herself and fear of the people: Harps., 199, 21-22; *Expos.*, 518.

⁷⁾ Harps., 186, 19, 261, 13-14 (huict paires de lettres); *Expos.*, 515.

⁸⁾ E. g., Harps., 187, 4, 14. — The passage, corresponding to *Ordo*, 208, sq, in which *Expos.*, 518, and the translations omit the mention of baptism (cp. further, p. 182), is left out entirely in Harps., 193, 24, sq, probably as it is hardly intelligible; cp. Harps., 356, sq.

⁹⁾ Harps., 184, 27, and 259, 15: *pour telle erreur, si cela se doit nommer erreur*; *Beschreyb.*, A 2 r: *vmb solchs yrthumbs willen, kan mæns anderst ein yrthumb nennen*; *Expos.*, 514: *Ob hoc delictum (si modo delictum appellandum est)*. Cp. before, p. 51.

IV
THE RECENTLY-FOUND
ORDO CONDEMNATIONIS MORI

ANNE

BOLEYN



IV. THE RECENTLY-FOUND *ORDO CONDEMNATIONIS MORI*

A. ITS DESCRIPTION

The history of the *Acta Thomæ Mori*, which had since long been considered as identical with that of the *Expositio* ¹⁾ as far as it reproduces the original narrative edited at Basle in October 1535 from a report sent from England ²⁾, has been enriched by a new document ³⁾ which provides ample information, not only about that history and the mutual connection of the texts, but especially so about the very trial and the sentence of the great Martyr. That document consists of a manuscript relation of that trial and the death that followed it, dating from the very year 1535 when those events happened ⁴⁾. It was discovered whilst studying the numerous items of a manuscript collection, bound into a most handsome volume in the xvith century for the famous Abbey St. Trudo, at Saint-Trond ⁵⁾, near Liège, where it reposed until the suppression of the Abbey by the French Revolution. The volume now belongs to the General Archives of the Realm, Brussels ⁶⁾; it contains documents gathered and copied, as well as personal compositions, mostly referring to theological subjects, to hagiography or to the history of the Abbey ⁷⁾, by Gerard Morinck, who, from 1533 to his death, on October 9, 1556, was in the service of the abbot

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp. 44, *sq.*

²⁾ Cp. before, pp. 37-40.

³⁾ Cp. before, p. 21.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p. 21; *MonHL*, 489-90.

⁵⁾ *MonHL*, 73-74, 494-495.

⁶⁾ Fonds des Cartulaires et Manuscrits, n° 391^B.

⁷⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 73-93, 257-281, 464-71, 480-495.

George Sarens as literary and theological adviser ¹⁾. From his native village Bommel, he came to Louvain to study in 1510; after a successful training in the *Artes* ²⁾, he applied himself to theology, especially under his master and friend Martin van Dorp. By 1526 he was reader in divinity in Holy Ghost College, and by 1531, lecturer in St. Gertrude Abbey, Louvain. Besides some theological treatises, he wrote and published biographies: one is the most important *Vita Hadriani Sexti*, 1536 ³⁾; another, a life of St. Augustine, 1533, which occasioned some epistolary connection with Erasmus ⁴⁾, to whom he probably had been introduced by Martin van Dorp. For Morinck had shared for some time the rooms occupied by his master, who must have communicated to him his lively interest in humanistic studies, and especially in the *Trilingue* College ⁵⁾. He was acquainted with Conrad Goclenius, the professor of Latin, and it was no doubt from him that he received the text of the report on Thomas More's trial and death which he copied. That copy was found amongst his papers at his decease, when they were made up into the big, nicely bound volume which most probably was one of the treasures of the Abbey Library ⁶⁾, judging from its ornamentation ⁷⁾ and from the mention which is made of it in subsequent bibliographies and histories ⁸⁾.

The report takes up a quire of three double folio-leaves, of which it occupies nine pages and part of the tenth, from f 309

¹⁾ *MonHL*, 476-484.

²⁾ At the promotion of Masters of Arts of 1513, he was classed the first among 155 competitors: *MonHL*, 461.

³⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius, November 1536: *MonHL*, 485-86.

⁴⁾ *MonHL*, 471-72; Allen, VII, 1994; five letters, from 1526 to 1547, referring to Erasmus and the impression he made on his contemporaries, have been edited from Morinck's MS in *MonHL*, 499-584.

⁵⁾ *MonHL*, 461-499; he wrote Dorp's *Vita*: *MonHL*, 121, sq, 257, sq, 75, sq.

⁶⁾ *MonHL*, 494, sq.

⁷⁾ Not only was the cover adorned with fine brass clasps and knobs on front and back, but all capitals and all beginnings of sentences in the texts are marked with ornaments in an opaque orange colour, which is also used to underline words, to blot out all erased words and to add signs and titles in margins.

⁸⁾ *SweABel.*, 284-85; *BibBelg.*, 281-82; *GallChrist.*, III, 964-65; the collection must have been precious for the history of the Abbey and its Order, since the library of the old convent was destroyed by a fire with all its records in June 1548: *MonHL*, 73-74, 490-96.

recto to *f* 313 *verso*. The title, at the top of *f* 309 *r*, reads :

ORDO CONDEMNATIONIS THOMÆ MORJ,
 CANCELLARIJ PRIMARIJ ALIQUANDO
 REGNI ANGLIÆ, QUIA IN INCESTAS NUP-
 TIAS REGIS HENRICJ OCTAUJ ASSENTIRJ,
 EUMQUE CAPUT SUMMUM ECCLESIE AN-
 GLICANÆ FATERJ NOLUERIT : COMPEN-
 DIO LATINE REDDITUS : ANNO ILLO QUO
 ILLE PERIERAT

This document is entirely written by Gerard Morinck : the five last words of the title '*anno illo quo ille perierat*' have been added at a later date; there are also a few small changes and corrections in the text which Morinck made at the time of the copying or soon after; they are indicated here in the first edition of that report in this book ¹⁾, to which will be referred by the word *Ordo* and the number of the lines.

At the end of the *Ordo*, on *f* 313 *v*, Morinck copied a poem of eight lines entitled : *Epitaphium, incertum quo autore* — without doubt by Janus Secundus ²⁾; below it, to the right, he wrote as catchword : *Sequuntur articuli* ³⁾, announcing a copy, also by him, of the articles which two Visitors of the Friaries in England, appointed in 1534 by Henry VIII and Cromwell, were to apply on their mission : those *Articuli commissionis generalium visitorum Regnj Angliae deputatorum* ⁴⁾ take up the obverse, and part of the reverse, of *f* 314 ⁵⁾.

According to the words added to the title : *anno illo quo ille perierat* ⁶⁾, the *Ordo* dates from the year 1535, which is most consistent. For if it was copied, it certainly was at a period as near as possible to that on which the original report reached the Netherlands; — it would not have been

¹⁾ Cp. pp. 145-63.

²⁾ Cp. further, *App.* I, a, b.

³⁾ The open space of *f* 313 *v* is taken up by several notes added by later hands; they refer to More or his death : cp. further, *App.* I, b.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, *App.* II, a, b.

⁵⁾ The open space of *f* 314 *v* has been used by a later hand for an extract from the comments by Peter, abbot of Cluny, on *Numeri*, xi, 4.

⁶⁾ *Ordo*, *vx*; cp. before. p. 99.

written out at all if Erasmus' *Expositio* had already been printed and available, for it is evidently conceived as a piece of news, not as a chronicle. That date is corroborated in a way by the adding of the *Injunctions to the Visitors*, which belong to 1534 ¹⁾; as well as by the mention added to the title of More's *Epitaphium* : ' *incertum quo authore* ', as those verses were claimed as Janus Secundus' work in December 1536 ²⁾.

In all probability the same Goclenius who provided Erasmus with the relation of More's death ³⁾, also supplied the *Ordo*. That is attested by tradition, for when about a century afterwards the bibliographer Francis Sweerts enumerated the works written or transcribed by Gerard Morinck, belonging to the Saint-Trond Abbey, he records, amongst the documents copied, the ' *Martyrium Thomae Mori, Angli, Cancellarij, MS. in Collegio Trilingui* ', indicating no doubt the original from which was made the transcript preserved in the Abbey ⁴⁾. It may have been communicated to Morinck through his friends Martin Lips and Nicolas van Winghe, two monks of St. Martin's Priory of Louvain ⁵⁾ as intermediaries between him and their common friend Conrad Goclenius. As the text of *Ordo* is the equivalent of the first part of the *Expositio Fidelis*, notwithstanding the numerous discrepancies in details, it follows that they are two different reproductions of one and the same model, the English relation of More's trial and death, supplied by Goclenius to Erasmus, of which a Latin translation afterwards was made here in the country for those who did not understand the original. The Latin professor of Louvain, no doubt, had that version transcribed by some of his pupils, — or the friends who received it may have copied it out in their turn : that way are explained the several variants between the *Ordo* and the *Expositio* ⁶⁾.

* * *

¹⁾ Blunt, I, 295, *sq*; Gairdner, 164, *sq*; Strype, I, 330, 397; Gasq-Mon., I, 229, *sq*; cp. further, *App.* II, a, b.

²⁾ Cp. further, *App.* I, a, b,

³⁾ Cp. before, pp. 33, *sq*, 37, *sq*.

⁴⁾ SweABel., 284-285.

⁵⁾ MonHL, 531-41, 556-563.

⁶⁾ Such is the comparison added in the *Ordo* between More's good-bye

It is certain that the two relations are the Latin reproductions of an English text. That has already been shown for the *Expositio* ¹⁾, on account of the number of letters passed between More and Fisher given there as 'octo paria literarum': no doubt a too literal version of 'eight pair of letters', which in the *Ordo* is consistently corrected into: 'literis non paucis' ²⁾. Similarly the wish for the King expressed as conclusion of his speech by More: '<precor Deum... ei> dare dignetur bonos consultatores': no doubt a mistaken translation of: 'God may grant him good council', rendered in the *Ordo*: '<Christus eam> salubri consilio vti faciat', as he also wished a few moments before his death ³⁾. The English origin is proved by faulty Latin constructions of the *Ordo*, which adhere too closely to some peculiarity of English. Thus the sentence: 'Jussa est igitur afferrj sella', represents the essentially English passive construction: a seat was ordered to be brought ⁴⁾. Similarly in the clause: 'Leges... quæ firmitatem modo habeant', the adverb *modo* has not the usual sense of: recently, just now, — judging from the context; it is most probably the literal rendering of the English: laws that have already got stability ⁵⁾. The term *officiosi* in: 'est officiosi hominis', used twice in the *Ordo*, is apparently the translation of 'dutifull', or 'dewtifull', which in Richard Huloet's *Abecedarium* (1552) is given as the equivalent to the Latin 'officiosus'; the *Expositio* circumscribes that rather dubious locution as: 'subditus syncerus ac fidelis Regiæ Maiestati', and as: 'subditum fidelem' ⁶⁾. The word 'Killim', which is found in the *Expositio*, 517, was no doubt added by Erasmus, since it does not sound as the right term ⁷⁾; nor were the explana-

to his daughter and Seneca's taking final leave of Paulina (*Ordo*, 269), and for certain the pseudo-humanistic comment that is added to the relation of his death (*Ordo*, 281-298).

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp. 44 to 46.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 515; *Ordo*, 117; cp. before, p. 45.

³⁾ *Expos.*, 518, 520; *Ordo*, 246, 277-78.

⁴⁾ *Ordo*, 44-5: the *Expos.*, 513, has: Tum iussu Iudicum allata est sella...

⁵⁾ *Ordo*, 93-4; the clause is not rendered in *Expos.*, 514.

⁶⁾ *Ordo*, 99 and 106; the word *Officious* is not quoted in *NED* before 1565; *Expos.*, 514, 515.

⁷⁾ Cp. note to l. 168 of *Ordo* (in which it does not appear), and before, p. 49.

tions of the titles *Milordt* and *Maister* given in the original, as, judging from the translations of the *Expositio* of October 1535, they were only added in the new edition ¹⁾, just like the details about Margaret Roper's 'customary' embrace ²⁾ and More's face which remained stolid, although tears were rolling over his cheeks ³⁾. Those particulars are not found in the *Ordo*, nor were they in all likelihood in the English original report. That report, without doubt, mentioned the Tower in which More was imprisoned, and the square in front of it, Tower Hill, on which he was beheaded. Those two places were completely unknown to the man who translated the English into the Latin of the *Ordo*; for he writes that More 'ad turrim quandam magnam ducitur, opinor eam, qua fortassis vltimam poenam meriti asseruantur'; whereas the *Expositio* translates: 'Morus reductus est in Turrim' ⁴⁾. Similarly the *Ordo* relates of More that on the day of his execution 'pro turri illa magna modo dicta, in aream quandam deducitur'; the *Expositio* reads here: 'in planiciem quæ est ante arcem' ⁵⁾; a few lines further, Erasmus mentions that place again in the relation of Fisher's death as: 'planiciem, quam Angli uulgo dicunt Turre collem', — meaning Tower Hill ⁶⁾. From these two translated passages, it is safe to conclude that the translator answerable for the text of the *Ordo* had never been in London, and was certainly not an Englishman; for he could not have ignored the first and most important building in his country. Erasmus who knew London and South-East England, rightly translated, or, at least, made the necessary corrections in a defective translation. Instead of being a handicap, that inability of the *Ordo*-translator provides his version with an inestimable value as historic document: in his ignorance of life

¹⁾ *Expos.*, 512: 'Magister More (sic appellant mediocri dignitate præditos); 517: 'Milordt (sic Angli compellant insigni dignitate præstantes)'; the *Ordo*, 12, 201 has neither title nor explanation: cp. notes and before, pp. 50-51.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 519; cp. *Ordo*, 261, 262, nn, and before p. 72.

³⁾ *Expos.*, 519: cp. *Ordo*, note to l. 267, and before pp. 50-51.

⁴⁾ *Ordo*, 247-48 (cp. note); *Expos.*, 518; in the second edition the Tower is said, in the preamble, to serve for a prison for noblemen or distinguished persons: *Expos.*, 512.

⁵⁾ *Ordo*, 271-72 (see note); *Expos.*, 520.

⁶⁾ *Expos.*, 522.

and things beyond the Straits of Dover, he could not but keep scrupulously to his English original — whereas Erasmus' text offers a large number of passages in which he has assumed the right of making alterations according to his views on English affairs. Instead of leaving the report of More's trial and death as it came from the hands of the witness, he arranged it so that it could do no harm to his interests : he omitted what was offensive to Henry VIII and some of his protectors, and toned down the expressions, so as not to rouse as much the horror and animosity, as the pity and compassion of his readers. Thanks to the honest and faithful rendering of the *Ordo*, notwithstanding its imperfections¹⁾, a right and true idea can be formed of the English original report of More's martyrdom.

B. ITS ENGLISH ORIGINAL

The English *Acta Mori* ²⁾, which was the original of the *Expositio* and of the *Ordo*, and consequently the basis of all the relations of More's trial and death that have survived, was evidently written by one who was fully acquainted with all the circumstances of what he narrated, and thus was invested with an authority which made his report supersede all other narratives ³⁾. A first impression might suggest as author one of the London Carthusians, implicated themselves in the tragedy and favoured no doubt by More's

¹⁾ Such as, besides the clumsy renderings of « the Tower » and « Tower Hill », the pseudo-humanistic comments on More's death and on the admirable courage he showed in his bitter sufferings : cp. *Ordo*, 251, 269, 281-98.

²⁾ The name was given to it by Erasmus in the *Expositio*, 528 ; cf. before, pp. 44, 88.

³⁾ Such as the relation sent to Anne de Montmorency by the end of July 1535, which was communicated to the Papal Nuncio and translated for him in Italian for the benefit of his friends in Italy : cp. before, p. 31. Ortrov, 65, 66 (293, 329, 334), and Chambers, 334, 349, 403 (Harps., 254), consider the *Paris News-letter*, translated from the English, edited in 1659 in de Castelnau's *Mémoires* under the title of *Récit du procesz &c* (cp. before, pp. 41-42), as the original of the *Expositio Fidelis*, translated from French into Latin by 'Phil. Montanus', whereas the *Récit* is, without doubt, a version of the *Expositio* : cp. before, pp. 41-42, 46-49.

acquaintance and protection ¹⁾. Yet the calm and matter-of-fact tone of the report, as well as the clearness and method with which the old-Chancellor's defence is set forth, point undoubtedly to a well-trained and fully-equipped lawyer. There is hardly any appeal to pity or sentiment, in so far that the ultimate meeting of father and daughter — which in the *Expositio* is said to be more tragic than the very sentence ²⁾, — is suggested rather than drawn or described; whereas the arguing and debating of the sharp-witted ex-Chancellor is represented in such a vivid, complete, and yet succinct way that it impresses even when some of its fullness and exactness is lost in the renderings that have been made of it. All that suggests that it was the work of More's own nephew, the son of his sister Elizabeth, William Rastell, who at the time was a zealous student of law at Lincoln's Inn, and who composed a report of the judgment and death of Bishop Fisher ³⁾, at whose execution he was present ⁴⁾. It is more than likely that he also made a report for his uncle, the more so as in the life of Fisher of the MS. Arundel 152, f 246 r - 247 v, there are 'breif notes appertaining to Bishop Fyshere, collected out of Sr Tho : Moore's Lyfe written by Mr Justice Restall', — proving to all evidence that he composed a complete biography, which unfortunately is lost except for three extracts ⁵⁾.

* * *

William Rastell, the son of the lawyer and printer John Rastell ⁶⁾ and Elizabeth More, Thomas's sister, was born in

¹⁾ In his youth More had even contemplated entering that order : Chambers, 295; cp. A. W. Reed, in Hearnshaw, 126.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 518.

³⁾ Ortrov, 396, sq.

⁴⁾ Referring to that death, he writes : Where was a wonderous nombre of people gathered to see this horrible execution, of which myself was one : Ortrov, 16.

⁵⁾ Ortrov, 55, 56-57, 16.

⁶⁾ John Rastell, a native of London, studied in Oxford and entered Lincoln's Inn; he had set up as a printer in 1516; still he only issued four books before 1526 as far as is known; afterwards he did not do much work himself, — sub-letting his office to others, or using assistants —: Duff, 129; *PrintLists*; *PrintDevices*, 14, 15; Plomer, 5-6; Hearnshaw,

London about 1508; in 1525 he went to study logic and philosophy in Oxford without taking a degree. Unfortunately he had to make for himself an independent situation, and with the help of his uncle Thomas More, he set up as a printer in St. Bride's Churchyard, Fleet Street ¹⁾, on account of his father's wayward character ²⁾. He printed the controversial works of his uncle the Chancellor, as well as the plays of his brother-in-law John Heywood ³⁾, and, after some time, legal treatises. In 1532 he was admitted as student to Lincoln's Inn and soon gained consideration and success, which led him to sell his printing concern, probably to Thomas Gibson, in 1534-5 ⁴⁾: he had issued more than thirty books. He was called to the bar in 1539, and was most prosperous in his practice of the law. He strengthened his ties with More's family in 1544, by marrying Winifred Cle-

129, *sq.*, 185; Strype, III, 240. There are about him some — rather discordant—biographical notices in Wood, I, 88; *BaleInd.*, 240; *BaleCat.*, 659-60; *BaleSum.*, 222 r.

¹⁾ Duff, 180; *PrintLists*; *PrintDevices*, 21.

²⁾ John Rastell was fond of giving performances of plays, and got involved in a lawsuit against a theatrical costumier, as well as in one about his printing office, 1584. From 1580 he took up religious controversy, and, becoming an adept of the Reformation, he lost his friends and what position he had, and sank into poverty. In 1586 he attacked the right of the clergy to tithes, which caused him to be thrown into prison, where he died soon afterwards. By his will, proved October 12, 1586, he left 40 shillings to his son William, an annuity to his son John, and other small sums to Chancellor Audley and Cromwell, Henry VIII being one of the executors he had appointed: Duff, 129; *DNB*; Chambers, 52-53. A most interesting detail of his life was brought to light only recently (cp. Reed, 84, 202, &c): he was so greatly interested in the New World, to which he referred in his interlude of the *Four Elements*, that he contemplated going there as a colonizer in accordance with the theories expressed by his brother-in-law in the *Utopia*: he set off in 1516 in the *Barbara*, which had to return; in 1521 Thomas More tried to win Henry VIII to the plan, — which makes him as the father to British Colonization: Chambers, 139-143.

³⁾ John Heywood had married Eliza Rastell: Pits, 753; Bang, 234-250; *DNB*; *BaleInd.*, 217; *BaleSum.*, 285, v. It has been supposed that some of his epigrams and proverbs originated in More's wit: G. C. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*: Stratford o. A., 1913: 232-234.

⁴⁾ Thomas Gibson started printing in 1585 (Duff, 55); in 1589 he used William Rastell's border for title-pages, which afterwards passed to J. Reynes and H. Smith and still had in 1546 his initials W. R. on the pillars: *PrintDevices*, 21, 172, 179.

ment ¹⁾, the eldest daughter of his house-teacher Dr. John Clement and his adoptive child Margaret Gyge, or Giggs ²⁾. After the accession of Edward VI, William Rastell retired to Louvain with his wife and her family ³⁾; she died there of a fever on July 17, 1553, and was buried in St. Peter's, to the right side of Our Lady's altar, under the organ ⁴⁾. Under Mary's reign he returned to England and was appointed Sergeant-at-law in 1555, and judge of the Queen's Bench in 1558 ⁵⁾; he published some law books ⁶⁾, and edited More's English works in 1557 ⁷⁾ by means of a large amount of treatises and original letters, thus rendering a remarkable service, not only to the history of the life and thoughts of the martyr, but also to English literature, as but for that edition a great number of documents would have certainly been lost ⁸⁾. Under Elizabeth he was for a time Justice Itinerant for Durham, when he once more left the country for religion's

¹⁾ Winifred Clement died on July 17, 1553, at the age of twenty-six and a half, after nine years of married life : consequently she was born about the beginning of 1527 and married in the middle of 1544 : Pits, 764-65; Bang, 247 (correcting the dates of *DNB*); Wood, I, 115.

²⁾ Margaret Gyge married John Clement in the first half of 1526, on which occasion Leland wrote an *Epithalamium*: Wood, I, 138; Bang, 246-7.

³⁾ He left about December 1549, in consequence of which 'the houses of... Doctor Clement, phisition... and Rastall, which maryed Doctor Clementes daughter, were seassed by the sheriffes of London to the Kinges use because they had fled the realme...': *WrioethChron.*, II, 34; Bang, 247; Harps., *clxxx*; Constant, II, 220.

⁴⁾ Pits, 764-65; Bang, 247; Wood, I, 115; Mol., 786; Reed, 85-93.—When Bencher of Lincoln's Inn under Mary, Rastell restored the altar of the Chapel of the Inn, and made a provision for a prayer at every Mass for the souls of Winifred, her kin and family; by 1581 the Council of the Inn solemnly cancelled that provision as an act of foolish 'abomination and superstition': Chambers, 34, 35.

⁵⁾ Justice of the Common Pleas, William Rastell, or Rastall, is mentioned more than once by the authors of the English Church and occasionally called 'Justice Rascall': Gough, 652.

⁶⁾ Wood, I, 114-115; *DNB*; Ortroty, 16.

⁷⁾ *The Workes of Sir Thomas More, ... wrytten in the Englysh Tonge*: London, J. Cawod, J. Waly & Rich. Tottell, 1557 : Delcourt, 385-401; Chambers, 20, sq. 53, 307-8, 326, 335, 344-5. The *Workes* are preceded by a *Table of the... Matters*, made by Thomas Paynell, who used to be a canon regular of Merton Priory, Surrey : Wood, I, 112.

⁸⁾ M. Grünzinger, *Die Neuenglische Schriftsprache in den Werken des Sir Thomas More* : Freiburg i. Br., 1909 : 17-20.

sake on January 3, 1562 ¹⁾, forfeiting his goods, his library and his estate of Northmymys ²⁾, of which he, however, disposed by a will made in Antwerp, on August 8, 1564 ³⁾. He settled once more in Louvain, matriculating in August 1562 ⁴⁾; his father-in-law had preceded him there with his family, having matriculated in the University with his son Thomas in March of that same year ⁵⁾. Two of his sisters-in-law entered convents there ⁶⁾, and he died there on August

¹⁾ 'A curious and rather confusing account of his flight' is said to be preserved in the *Inquisitiones Post Mortem for London*, Index Library (pp. 108-110) : Duff, 180.

²⁾ The flight of a Justice of the Queen's Bench was a misdemeanor which rendered all his belongings forfeit to the Crown; a commission sat at Guildhall to take an inventory of the goods and chattels of the recusant : Chambers 34. Cp. *HeywCirc.*, 9-12, 16 and (with details about Northmymys) 8.

³⁾ An authentic copy of his will reposes in Antwerp Town Archives, *Halle & Moy*, I, ff. 369 v, sq; it is reproduced in Bang, 238-241. He chose as heir Eliseus Heywood, son of John and his sister Eliza. He offers gifts to John Clement and Margaret Gyge, his parents-in-law, also to their daughters and some members of his family. He excluded from his heritage all his *legittimos heredes* unless they are mentioned in his will — no doubt meaning his brother John, a protestant, who only received a ring, possibly also John's descendents. No mention is made of Jaspar Heywood, Eliseus' brother; still the reason of his exclusion was probably not William's displeasure at Jaspar's dedicating his Senecan translations to Elizabeth and to notable favourers of Reform, as there was only little friction about religion in 1561 when Jaspar wrote the last dedication and entered Gray's Inn. Most likely he had already received from his uncle the part due to him when he entered the Society of Jesus on May 21, 1562 : *HeywSen.*, viii-xi; *HeywCirc.*, 16-17 ; *HeywRep.*, 209-10, 212 ; Chambers, 41.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIV*, 381 r : 'Dns Guilelmus rastell anglus nobilis'.

⁵⁾ *LibIntIV*, 379 r : 'Doctor Joannes clemens nobilis anglus/Thomas clemens anglus'. — In later years John Clement removed to Mechlin, where after more than forty-four years of married life, Margaret Gyge died on July 6, 1570, and was buried in St. Rombaut's; he himself passed away on July 1, 1572 in 'Blockstrate', in St. John's parish, being interred on the following day near his wife in St. Rombaut's : Mol., 786; Sander, 676,686; Pits, 768; Bang, 246-47; Guilday, 41, 378; Wood, I, 188; *HeywCirc.*, 9-12. — Thomas Clement was still in Louvain about 1575 : Guilday, 46; *HeywCirc.*, 10-12 ; *Mélmöeller*, I, 182-89.

⁶⁾ Dorothy Clement entered the Convent of St. Clara, whereas Margaret became Austin canoness at St. Ursula's Convent; she was elected prioress, and ruled the convent thirty-eight years until she resigned in 1606 ; Guilday, 41, 99, 378, 380-81; Bang, 246; Mol., 786; *GasqMon.*, I, 223;

27, 1565; he was buried in his wife's tomb : ' cum vxore... mortuus fit vnus puluis, cum qua viuus fuit vna caro ', as Pits remarked ¹⁾).

* * *

William Rastell, who had already made a record of the assembly of the clergy in 1530-31, and written a relation of the trial and death of Fisher and of the Carthusians, naturally made notes about the tragic event that befell the uncle who had helped him so generously ²⁾, who most probably had led him to the juridical career, and, for certain, had used him most affectionately ³⁾. As a student of law he had access to the court and could thus watch and gather first-hand evidence for his family and for More's friends. In the dark years that followed the execution ⁴⁾, he was entrusted by Margeret Roper, Margaret Gyge and all others with the compromising documents which the authorities were hunting for, and he thus became as the gatherer of all evidence about the illustrious martyr ⁵⁾. From that evidence he built up a life of Sir Thomas More, at which he worked probably during his first stay in Louvain; possibly also during Queen Mary's reign, and no doubt he was still engaged in it when death overtook him ⁶⁾. It had by then grown to such extent that it comprised books and chapters : thus from the few extracts that have survived, it appears that : ' ye shall redde in the 77 Chap. ' of the ' third booke ' in what way was treated the head of the martyr More ⁷⁾. It is not known whether

Hamilton, *The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses... at St. Monica's in Louvain* : London, 1904-6 : I, *passim*; Morris, 3, sq, 27-55.

¹⁾ Pits, 764-65 ; Duff, 130; Bang, 238-250; Wood, I, 114-15; Mol., 785; *DNB*; *HeywCirc.*, 9-12; Strype, III, 239-240; Stapleton, 7-8, 53.

²⁾ He printed his uncle's works : Chambers, 20-21; Delcourt, 381-388.

³⁾ That results from More's letter to Cromwell: MoreW, 1422 ; *Last-Lett.*, 1; Stapleton, 8.

⁴⁾ The disfavour weighing on More's family continued under Edward VI's reign, when several of his nearest relatives went into exile : on July 20, 1547 matriculated in Louvain ' Thomas Roper filius Guilelmj ', and a John Roper with six other countrymen, three being minors, had inscribed in May 1546 : *LibIntIV*, 202 v, 228 r.

⁵⁾ Chambers, 21-22.

⁶⁾ Harps., ccxv, sq, ccxix, 363-364; Chambers, 34-37; Constant, 500, &c.

⁷⁾ Ortroj, 414.

the manuscript passed to his nephew Eliseus Heywood and to the Jesuits ¹⁾, or to his brother-in-law Thomas Clement, who stayed for several years in Louvain ²⁾. Certain it is that it was used after 1567 by the author of a *Lyfe of Fysher*, who greatly enriched an already existing biography, which had been translated into Latin ³⁾, with the report of his and the Carthusians' execution.

He copied three extensive extracts, of which he entitled the first as : '[Certen breef notes appertaining to B.Fyshere, collected out of Sr Tho : Moore's] Lyfe written by Mr Justice Restall' ⁴⁾; to the second of which was added the note, probably addressed to a friend in England, or at least outside of our provinces, which testifies to the wealth accumulated in Rastell's manuscript, even about Fisher and the Carthusians to whom the extract refers : ' If ye wol haue this more playnlie and largely with [y^e manner] of there execucion at there deathe, send worde hereafter [into] thes partes and you shal haue bettor instruc[tions of them]' ⁵⁾.

Unfortunately those three extracts seem to be the only portions of the *Life of More* that have survived the haunting dangers that beset Eliseus Heywood and the Jesuits in the seventies of the sixteenth century ⁶⁾; possibly the manuscript is one of the long series of unique documents which, during the centuries, were ruthlessly destroyed in the precincts

¹⁾ Eliseus Heywood was William Rastell's heir: cp. before, p.109; by his will made at Dillingen on November 15, 1568, he made Francis de Borgia, general of the Jesuits, his general heir, and transferred to him and to the head of the Jesuits in Louvain some goods of his uncle which had come into his possession after 1568 : deeds of Oct. 2, 1572 and March 18, 1578 : Bang, 241-246.

²⁾ Thomas Clement remained in Louvain at least until 1575; his son, Dr. Caesar, became Dean of St. Gudula's, Brussels : Guilday, 381.

³⁾ It seems as if the *Lyfe of Fysher* was started about 1567; it was translated into Latin before the author, or authors, made use of the extracts of Rastell's *Life of More*; they finished their biography about 1577 : Ortroi, 66, sq, 15-6, 54-56, 285; Chambers, 35.

⁴⁾ The three extracts are preserved in *BritMus., MS. Arundel* 152 : ff 246 r-47 v, 307 r-8 r, 309 r-12 r; and *MS. Harleyan* 7047 : ff 11 r-13 r, 18 r-19 v (from which are added the words between [brackets]); they are reprinted in Ortroi, 396-418, and in E. V. Hitchcock, *Harpfield's Life of More* : Harps., 220-252. Cp. Chambers, 35.

⁵⁾ Ortroi, 402; cp. 410, 414, 415.

⁶⁾ Bang, 236-237; *AntwAnn.*, III, 452, sq.

of Louvain University ¹⁾. No doubt it was lost before 1580, for if it had been in existence, Dorothy Coly, John Harris's widow, who had resided several years with William Rastell and the Clements in Louvain ²⁾, would certainly have been aware of it, and informed by her, Thomas Stapleton would have been saved the trouble of gathering from the fast disappearing contemporaries the materials for his *Vita Mori* ³⁾; he certainly would have brought to a close, and edited Rastell's great work, or translated it, or at least have transmitted to posterity that most valuable document of history and literature ⁴⁾.

Indeed the three extracts of the *Life of More*, which most probably are the work of one man, Justice Rastell, to whom the first is attributed ⁵⁾, are remarkable for their unobjectionable veracity : details only known through them have been fully corroborated by documents — like those of the official 'Secret Bag', which recent investigations have brought to light ⁶⁾. They are characterized by a lucid simplicity and a felicitous efficiency; they betray a lawyer's cold, but truth-loving, sense with a strong undercurrent of emotion. Rastell states facts, no legends; he describes reality, no imaginative or sensitive impressions; what he writes will stand the test of time, long after criticism will have unravelled all gaudy fabrics of enthusiasm or party spirit ⁷⁾.

* * *

If Rastell ever wanted to chronicle any event of the life of his great uncle, he could not have let pass unrecorded the

¹⁾ The town of Louvain was partly destroyed in the seventies of the sixteenth century, as well as in 1914 and in 1940-44; in each of these two last wars the University Library was totally burned down; it had been ruthlessly plundered before, in 1788 and again in 1797.

²⁾ *Cron.*, 115, a, b.

³⁾ Stapleton's *Vita Mori* is based on the information he gathered from friends; Dorothy Coly, at Douai, was the last survivor of More's household to communicate the traditions of her husband, as well as those of Rastell and the Clements : Ortrov, 854, Stapleton, 7-8; Sander, 684.

⁴⁾ Chambers, 35-37; Ortrov, 15, 16, 54-56, 285, 396-418; Harps., ccxv.

⁵⁾ Ortrov, 55-57.

⁶⁾ Chambers, 36, sq, 326, 332, 334; Ortrov, 289-290, 402; Harps., 268-76.

⁷⁾ Chambers, 35-37, 39-41, 384.

one in which he showed at the same time his amazing competency as jurisperit, his wonderful discrimination as debater, and his almost superhuman courage, namely his trial, when, calmly and coldly, he strove to free himself from the impending sentence of death. If he related anything of More, he, zealous student of law, must have related that unequalled test.

On the other hand, thanks to the discovery of the *Ordo*, it is possible by means of a close comparison with the *Expositio*, to come to an adequate knowledge of what the original text was on which both are based ¹⁾. Erasmus' edition is more elegant, far more concise, and more emotional where father and daughter are taking their last leave of each other ²⁾. The *Ordo*, on the contrary, is written in an indifferent style; it shows that the translator had no knowledge whatever of England ³⁾, and knew no other ways to make his version more acceptable than pseudo-humanistic witticisms and allusions to classic personages ⁴⁾, as are found in two insertions ⁵⁾ and in the awkward, unnatural epilogue ⁶⁾, all of which are wanting in the *Expositio* ⁷⁾. Yet if those mawkish additions are left out, whereas all the passages of the original version are kept which Erasmus also produces, although altered, summarized or curtailed, a report is realized, which even in its infelicitous wording, is a remarkable account of More's trial. It is sober and yet powerful; it sounds minutely, verbally, and historically accurate ⁸⁾; it represents with an affectionate care the moves of the debate and develops the juridical elements in the argument ⁹⁾,

¹⁾ E. g., *Ordo*, 1, 5, 9, 157-61, 168-70 and notes to those lines.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 518-520; cp. notes to *Ordo*, 249-270.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp. 104-5.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, p. 119.

⁵⁾ *Ordo*, 260, 269-70.

⁶⁾ Cp. *Ordo*, 281-298.

⁷⁾ It is possible that those three interpolations were added, not by the translator of the English text, but by an intermediary copyist: cp. before p. 102, and further, p. 120.

⁸⁾ E. g., about the incident of the letters and the real meaning of *malitiose* — in which lately discovered documents fully agree: Ortroy, 289-90, 294, 402; Chambers, 834, 848, 849, 867; cp. notes to *Ordo*, 117-88, 168-77, and p. 112.

⁹⁾ Cp. notes to *Ordo*, 102-9, 109-16, 185-88, 157-61, 168-77, and further, pp. 122-80.

showing that the trial is of the highest importance. On the other hand the author makes only a seemingly matter-of-fact mention of the moving meeting and leave-taking of the most loving father and the tenderest daughter imaginable ¹⁾, and does not even find the wherewithall to fill one entire line with the description of the tragic death ²⁾. All those similarities of conception and treatment, of spirit and characteristics between the original of the *Expositio* and *Ordo* on one hand, and the extracts of the *Lyfe* of More on the other, point to the identity of the author. Nothing is more natural than that William Rastell should have drawn up a report of the trial and death of his uncle as he saw them, and communicated them to his cousins and friends; possibly also to the Carthusians ³⁾; a Bonvisi or a friend's friend ⁴⁾ could send the document by Bruges or Antwerp to Mary of Hungary's Court. It was copied, and also translated into Latin, and it thus soon spread. That the identity of the author of the '*Lyfe of More*', and the one of the report of his trial was not noticed before, is no doubt due to the considerable alterations that report underwent in Erasmus' edition ⁵⁾, and consequently in its French translation, the *Récit*, which has been wrongly considered as the initial narrative of More's last days, whereas it is only a translation of the first *Expositio* ⁶⁾. A close comparison of the two Latin texts shows the superiority of the *Ordo*, which is a faithful and reliable, if not a brilliant, rendering of Rastell's English original ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. notes to *Ordo*, 249-70. The *Expositio* adds a large amount of text to the mere mention of the *Ordo*, and represents the sadness it causes as greater than the very sentence; it even mentions the impression made on the soldiers: *Expos.*, 518-20; cp. further p. 122, and before, p. 96.

²⁾ The *Ordo*, 280, has merely: '*Securi caeditur*'.

³⁾ Cp. Chambers, 320-323, 326, *sq.*, 331; Morris, 13, *sq.*

⁴⁾ Thomas More was intimately acquainted with the bankers Bonvisi, who after Henry VIII's death settled in Antwerp; one of his last letters is addressed to Antony Bonvisi. Cp. *MoreLuc.*, 258-60; *Cran.*, 115, *d-f*, &c; *MonHL*, 154; Stapleton, 79, 318, 340; Ortrov, 315; Goris, 396; *HeywCirc.*, 9-10; Harps., 138. ⁵⁾ Cp. further pp. 121, *sq.*

⁶⁾ Chambers, 349, 334, (403), calls the original English author, the 'man who sent the news-letter <evidently, the *Récit*> to Paris'; cp. before pp. 48, 95-96, 105 and further, pp. 173-74, for the value of that version. Chambers's opinion is shared by Ortrov, 65, 66, &c, and by Harps., 254, *sq.*

⁷⁾ Cp. further, pp. 117, *sq.*

Rastell's authorship is strangely corroborated by the date on which the execution took place : the *Expositio* ascribes it to : ' Die Mercurij sequente, hoc est, septimo die Iulij ' ; so do the German and the Spanish translation ¹⁾ ; the *Ordo* has ' Quarta autem eius septimanæ insequente ' ²⁾ , whereas, as already mentioned, the Tuesday, 6 July, is given and confirmed by More's last letter to his daughter Margaret ³⁾ . In the third extract from the *Lyfe* of More by Rastell the former date is given : referring to Bishop Fisher's head, which had been up on London Bridge for two weeks, the author concludes : ' And at the ende of thes xiiii [day]es the executioner threwe this holie byshopps head into the ryver of Tamys, when he did sett [up] ther upon London brydge Sr Thomas Mores head, which he did the seuenth day of Julie [ne]xt following, as ye shall redde in the 77 Charp. of this third booke ' ⁴⁾ . No doubt his information was reproduced by the ' popish author of the « Martyrs of England » ' ⁵⁾ , whose dating the deaths of Fisher and More is opposed to that of Edward Lord Herbert in Strype's *Memorials* ⁶⁾ .

C. ITS CONNECTION WITH THE *EXPOSITIO*

When Rastell's report came to our provinces and reached the Court of Mary of Hungary, her secretary Nicolas Olah most probably procured a copy of it, in English, which he dispatched in all haste to Goclenius, so that it might be sent on to Erasmus at the first opportunity. Most likely Erasmus made a kind of free version of it, and had that printed at once by his host Jerome Froben as a news-letter, without mentioning any names ⁷⁾ , probably with the title *Expositio*

¹⁾ *Expos.*, 520; cp. before, p. 47; the French *Récit* reads : ' Le mardy suivant... ' ; probably a correction made when it was printed in 1659, for all the manuscripts have : ' Le mercredi ' : Harps., 266.

²⁾ *Ordo*, 271; cp. note to that place.

³⁾ Cp. before, p. 47.

⁴⁾ Cp. Ortroj, 414; *Charp.* is evidently a mistake for *Chap.*

⁵⁾ Most probably Maurice Chauncy's *Historia aliquot... Martyrum in Anglia* : Mayence, 1550, which was based on the *Expositio*, and was iteratively reprinted : cp. before, pp. 47, 91-98.

⁶⁾ Strype, I, 820; cp. before p. 47.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp. 87-88.

Mortis Thomae Mori ¹⁾. That edition was made ready in very few days, for the text left Louvain on September 28, and was already printed on October 13 : if it reached Basle in English, it explains some of the less exact renderings, like that of the number of letters, and the *consilium* ²⁾, as well as the summarizing of the intricate argumentation at the trial ³⁾, since time pressed and did not allow of a careful and minute consideration of all the sentences of the original for the sake of an adequate rendering of the very smallest details.

For the benefit of himself and those of his friends who did not know English, Conrad Goclenius had the report of More's last days translated, or perhaps that was done for him at the Court, possibly by his former student James Jespersen, of Aarhus, who was in Olah's service ⁴⁾. At any rate a Latin rendering was made and copied out, with an occasional mistake ⁵⁾, and the addition of some pseudo-humanistic comments, which must have seemed quite natural in those days of enthusiastic classic scholarship ⁶⁾, and which are easily distinguished from the sober and matter-of-fact narrative. A copy of that translation reached — at least mediate-ly — Gerard Morinck, then the literary adviser of the abbot of St. Trudo's, who made the transcription, the *Ordo*, which has been preserved ⁷⁾. It shows that the translator, although well acquainted with English, had never been in England, and ignored all about that country and its customs, which makes his version most faithful, as it obliged him to follow the original text exactly in all its details ⁸⁾. Thanks to

¹⁾ Cp. before, p. 38.

²⁾ Cp. further p. 119 and before pp. 45-46; *Expos.*, 515; *Ordo*, 117, 246.

³⁾ Cp. further, pp. 122, *sq.*

⁴⁾ James Jespersen, *Jaspari, Danus*, after studying in Louvain, entered Olah's *familia* in 1531, in which he proved most useful for his linguistic abilities. He left that service when Olah returned to Hungary by 1539, and settled in Antwerp, where he was acquainted with several English personages : *Cran.*, 281, *a-c.*

⁵⁾ Cp. further p. 119; *Ordo*, 39, 71.

⁶⁾ *Ordo*, 260, 269 and especially the long unnatural epilogue, 281-98, which may have been added as well by a transcriber as by the translator : cp. pp. 113, 119.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp. 101, *sq.*

⁸⁾ Cp. before, pp. 104, *sq.* and notes to *Ordo*, 247-8, 271-2.

that Latin text, a comparison can be made with Erasmus' *Expositio* to illustrate the connection with each other and with the English report.

The two texts are evidently the representation of one and the same original : the ideas are the same, and they follow one another in the same order. Yet the two texts are not based on one and the same Latin translation, as the same ideas are expressed in different words. If the *Ordo* and the *Expositio* represented the same rendering, there would be many identical phrases or parts of phrases, whereas now the only construction that is the very same in the two reports, is: 'Ad quæ Morus'; which occurs three times at corresponding places ¹⁾. Even when one and the same object is referred to, it is never mentioned in the same terms : thus the Supremacy Act is called: *edictum*, or *decretum*, or *constitutio*; yet not in one single instance the same word is used in the two texts at corresponding places. The only explanation possible for that identity of thoughts and ideas, and the complete difference of words, is that they are two different translations of one English text. The following extract samples that identity and that difference :

Expos., 516.

Superest tertius articulus, qui intendit, quod quum de uestra constitutione examinarer, dixerim eam esse similem gladio utrinque secanti, propterea quod si quis uellet eam seruare, perderet animam : si contradicere, perderet corpus. Idem quoniam, ut dicitis, respondit Episcopus Roffensis, perspicuum esse inter nos fuisse

conspirationem.

Ad haec respondeo, me

nunquam fuisse loquutum, nisi condi-

Ordo, 138, sq.

Nam quod obijcitis

dixisse, ipsum decretum tanquam gladium esse ancipitem, ita vt quisquis ipsum approbauerit, exitium animae sibi accersiturus sit; quisquis improbauerit, exitium corporis; Et in eandem omnino sententiam locutum esse Episcopum Roffensem : itaque ad liquidum constare, vtrumque nostrum idem ex composito de decreto sentire. Fateor, aliquid tale dixi, sed non quemadmodum vos intenditis; verum sub con-

¹⁾ *Ordo*, 103, 191, 201; *Expos.*, 515, 517.

tionaliter : sic uidelicet, si tale esset edictum, qualis est gladius utrinque incidens, quo pacto posset quis euitare, quin in alterum incideret periculum. Haec mea fuit oratio. Quomodo responderit Episcopus, nescio :

si illius oratio cum mea congruebat, id nequaquam accidit ex conspiratione,

sed potius
ex ingeniorum ac doctrinae similitudine. Breuiter

illud pro certo habetote, me nunquam quicquam maliciose fuisse loquutum aduersus uestram constitutionem :

at fieri potuit, ut ad benignam Regis clementiam aliquid malitiose fuerit delatum.

ditione, ad hunc modum si tale aliquod decretum tanquam gladius anceps esset : qua ergo ratione quis caueat, quin in alteram eius aciem necessario incurrat ?

In quam autem sententiam Roffensis rogatus responderit, me profecto latet. Si est ut in eam ipsam plane responderit in quam ego, non hoc de composito factum est, sicuti intenditis, quasi ita inter nos per mutuas literas conuenerit ; sed forte fortuna, ut saepe alias accidit, quia eadem rationes utrumque permouerunt. Et ut semel omnia dicam : non crediderim me vnquam aduersus hoc vestrum decretum neque locutum esse, neque fecisse quicquam, quod vir aequus vlllo pacto in malam partem iudicet. Quid maleuoli et sycophantae ad principes deferant, nemo cauere potest, ne cautissimus quidem. Obtrectatores cum vbique hominibus candidis insidiantur, praesertim aliqua dignitate praestantibus, tum vero in aulis principum.

Expos., 516.

Ordo, 161.

* * *

That same parallelism continues throughout the report, although it does not exclude such variants as are inherent to independent translations of one and the same text.

Besides clerical errors, which are hardly avoidable ¹⁾, there are naturally differences resulting from a different understanding of one passage; or from a detail which maybe was overlooked; or from a distinct conception expressed in the rendering. The translator of the *Ordo* did not understand the mentions of the Tower and Tower Hill ²⁾; he hit on a better rendering for 'Counsel', which must have been in the original ³⁾; and, for certain, with reference to the number of missives that passed between the two prisoners: 'eight pair of letters' ⁴⁾. The detail that some letters had been burned, may have been overlooked in the *Ordo* ⁵⁾; there More's pious resignation is expressed by: '*Ita visum est superis*', whereas the '*Sic est voluntas Dei*' of the *Expositio* sounds much better in the Martyr's mouth ⁶⁾.

Other differences between the texts are caused by the insertion of some ideas or remarks and by the adding of prologue or epilogue by the translator or the transcriber. The *Ordo* at Margaret's leave-taking of her father adds: '*iam iam nunquam in posterum sibi videndum*', which is not at all like the stern historian Rastell ⁷⁾. The *Ordo* also inserts in that same passage: '*Diceret moriturum Senecam ad Paulinam uxorem verba facere*', — a most unlikely pseudo-humanistic remark ⁸⁾, which is of as bad taste as the epilogue added to the austere description of the martyrdom, consisting only of two words: '*securi cæditur*'; it is a lengthy, humdrum complaint, referring to Cicero, and introducing stale witticisms on *abstulisse* and *auxisse*, on *vivit*, *vivetque*, and mentioning, of course, the *posteritas* which will justly dispense her *admiratio* and *execratio*, — whereas there is not one single word of Christian feeling or elevation about More's heroic sacrifice ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Thus the *Ordo* has *iudicio* and *cicuitione*: ll 62, 202; also *commenturos* and *sententiam*: ll 212, 238.

²⁾ *Ordo*, 247, 271: cp. before, pp. 104, sq, 116.

³⁾ *Ordo*, 246; cp. before, p. 116 and, for similar cases, the notes to *Ordo*, 190, 193, 202, 274, 277.

⁴⁾ *Ordo*, 117; *Expos.*, 515; cp. before p. 45.

⁵⁾ *Ordo*, 121; *Expos.*, 515.

⁶⁾ *Ordo*, 260; *Expos.*, 519.

⁷⁾ *Ordo*, 251-52; *Expos.*, 518.

⁸⁾ *Ordo*, 269; *Expos.*, 519.

⁹⁾ *Ordo*, 281-98; the three translations of the first issue of the *Expositio* break off on the last words of More to the people present at his death; cp. before pp. 51-52.

Those alterations and additions may have been quite independent from the minds of the translators or the transcribers, just like the accidental mistakes in the rendering. For, at least for the *Ordo*, it is verisimilar that it was the copy of a third or a fourth transcription; and it is quite conceivable that in one of them a former owner should have jotted down some remarks in the margin, or added his comments in open spaces, which the next copyist considered as parts of the original text, and inserted into it. That may have been the case even for the *Expositio*, for it is always possible that Erasmus also received a Latin translation — different from the one represented by the *Ordo* ¹⁾; in which case he arranged the text according to his liking before he passed it to the printer. Still it is far more probable that Goclenius, who, through his friends at Court, could secure the original English report, preferred sending that to his great Master at Basle, who, for certain, was yearning for first-hand information, especially in a language which he sufficiently understood to make up a translation that suited his taste and his purpose. Such unintentional alterations may be due to a word that was dropped or overlooked : thus where it is declared that the Act of Supremacy is in opposition with the promise and the oath taken to promote the unity of the Church, the *Expositio* omits mentioning that it was done in Baptism, which omission deprives the argument of all strength ²⁾. Quite certainly intentional in the *Expositio* is the graphically exact rendering of the Tower and Tower Hill ³⁾, whereas several small sentences like : ‘ Venio nunc ad secundum accusationis caput ’ ⁴⁾, or : ‘ Superest tertius articulus ’ ⁵⁾ — were introduced to separate and arrange the lengthy matter under different heads. When More replied to Cromwell that the Act of Supremacy did not interest him as he was in prison, and that he rather thought of the things of next life, the *Expositio* makes him ‘ *meditari in passione*

¹⁾ Still it is hardly likely that a second translation should be attempted if one already existed.

²⁾ *Ordo*, 207, &c : ‘ decretum istud vestrum impium esse, quia ex diametro pugnet cum eo iureiurando, quo vos Deo Optimo in baptismo obstrinxistis... ’; *Expos.*, 518; probably therefore Harpsfield dropped the passage : Harps., 193, 21, 264, 10, *sq*; cp. before, p. 96.

³⁾ *Ordo*, 247, 271; *Expos.*, 518, 520; cp. before pp. 104, 116, 119.

⁴⁾ *Ordo*, 116; *Expos.*, 515.

⁵⁾ *Ordo*, 138; *Expos.*, 516.

Domini nostri Iesu Christi ¹⁾, alluding to the 'treatise' he wrote upon it in the Tower ²⁾. A few details were also inserted about Margaret More's meeting with her father, judging from the French and German translations ³⁾, and a date was added: 'Paris, July 23 (in the *Récit*, 22), 1535 ⁴⁾, which is given as: 'Paris, August 4, 1535' in the manuscript French, and in the Spanish, versions ⁵⁾.

That those insertions and additions were reproduced by the three translations, the *Récit*, the *Beschreibung* and the Spanish report, shows that they had appeared in the first issue of the trial and death of More translated, or for certain arranged, by Erasmus, and printed anonymously in the first half of October 1535 ⁶⁾. Three months later Erasmus published it again as the first part of the *Expositio Fidelis*, the second part being the report of Fisher's trial and some comments on his two great friends ⁷⁾. The text of this new issue is enlarged by nearly two fifths. An introduction is added ⁸⁾, in which the community of friendship is asserted on the authority of Pythagoras and Euripides, and a description is given of London with the Tower and Westminster Hall; it further ascribes the information imparted '*partim e schedis Gallice scriptis, quæ hic — viz., in Paris, where the *Expositio* is dated from ⁹⁾, — circumferuntur..., partim e rumoribus* ¹⁰⁾. In the beginning of the trial is added that More walked with great difficulty to Westminster Hall leaning on a stick, weakened by his imprisonment, yet bearing a calm expression ¹¹⁾. The title *Magister* with which he is addressed, as later on that of *Milordt*, is explained ¹²⁾. As conclusion to

¹⁾ *Ordo*, 85-90; *Expos.*, 514.

²⁾ MoreW, 1270-1404; Delcourt, 397.

³⁾ *Ordo*, 249 sq; *Expos.*, 518, 519; cp. before, pp. 49-50.

⁴⁾ That date cannot possibly be right, as the first report did not reach Paris before July 26: cp. before pp. 31-33; yet the *Expositio* is dated from July 23, 1535; cp. before p. 38.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p. 43; Harps., 266.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp. 37, sq.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp. 55, sq.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, pp. 71-72, and note to *Ordo*, 1.

⁹⁾ Apud Lutetiam Parisiorum, X. Cal. Augusti, Anno M.D.XXXV. Cp. *Expos.*, 530, and before, p. 38.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. for the value of that 'genealogy', p. 56.

¹¹⁾ *Ordo*, 8-9, note; *Expos.*, 512.

¹²⁾ *Ordo*, 12 and 201, notes; *Expos.*, 512, 517.

the argument about the value of silence is added ' *De occultis enim solus iudicat Deus* ' ¹⁾. The description of the meeting of More with his daughter on his return to the Tower is considerably enlarged : it is represented as more tragic than the condemnation ²⁾ and as having caused a greater pain to the martyr ³⁾. Erasmus further describes the qualities of that favourite daughter of More's, the sadness she cannot help showing, and the deep impression she makes on the bystanders and the soldiers. He comments on More's love to his children, on his sore grief and on his courage, about which he mentions the strange fact that : ' *nihil loquutus est, tantum erumpebant lachrymæ, uultu tamen a constantia nihil dimoto* ' ⁴⁾. Finally he adds some details to the description of the execution, about Tower Hill, about the custom of addressing the people, and about the courageous way in which the martyr met his death to the deep sorrow of many people : ' *Erat enim bonis omnibus charissimus* ' ⁵⁾.

* * *

Those additions to the text of the first issue of the report of More's martyrdom, added on the strength of information gathered afterwards, differentiate the two Latin narratives, although only for the outward form : a greater difference lies in a totally dissimilar aim. Whereas the translator of the *Ordo* tried to represent exactly the English original so as to provide a matter-of-fact and reliable historic document, unmindful of repetitions and of an indifferent style, Erasmus showed his nice sense of language and his care for a well arranged text. He left out all repetitions and superfluous words, shaped his sentences so as not to suggest an English model, and made clear all what might have been incomprehensible to foreign readers. He thus proved that he aimed at more than at a painstaking version, rendering a piece of information from which everybody could take what he

¹⁾ *Ordo*, 96, note; *Expos.*, 514.

²⁾ ' *Hic obiter accidit spectaculum ipsa condemnatione miserabilius* ' : *Expos.*, 518; *Ordo*, 249.

³⁾ ' *Nihil enim addubito, quin hic doloris gladius crudelius uulnerarit Moris prae cordia quam... securis* ' : *Expos.*, 519-20; *Ordo*, 268.

⁴⁾ *Expos.*, 519; notes to *Ordo*, 249-270; cp. before, pp. 50-51, 114.

⁵⁾ *Expos.*, 520; cp. notes to *Ordo*, 271-298.

liked; he wanted to produce a particular impression, and therefore arranged the matter into an effective and attractive narrative, both as literature and as information. He thus brought proportion and arrangement in the mass of juridical arguments, which he divided into paragraphs by inserting sentences like : ' Venio... ad secundum caput ' or ' Superest tertius articulus ' ¹⁾. He also shortened long passages, pointed out special details, brought forward some sentences, expressing them in more lucid terms, whilst toning down others; he omitted whatever proved inopportune or superfluous, not according to the view and conception of the author of the original, but to the aims which he, Erasmus, had in mind, and thus produced a readable and lively narrative. The introductory address of the judges advising More to own his fault and throw himself on the King's mercy, is summarized as well as the reply to it ²⁾. Audley's interruption, asking for an answer to what is objected, is omitted ³⁾; so is More's request for a seat, ' since ', he says ' he will be long and he does not feel very strong ' ⁴⁾; so is also the prelude to his defence ⁵⁾. To be true, nothing of importance is said; yet for completeness' sake, it would have been better if the editor of this historic document had neither shortened, nor maimed it. For if in this instance and for some other passages perhaps ⁶⁾, that way of dealing with an original was of little consequence; it has greatly harmed the general spirit of this report, which, without doubt, Rastell wanted to make juridical ⁷⁾. He concentrated all his attention on the question debated between the judges and their victim. He brought out the lucid and peremptory replies of the ex-Chancellor to all that was objected to him. That struggle

¹⁾ Cp. *Ordo*, 116, 188, notes.

²⁾ Cp. *Ordo*, 12-86.

³⁾ *Ordo*, 37-40.

⁴⁾ *Ordo*, 41-46.

⁵⁾ *Ordo*, 46-55.

⁶⁾ *E. g.*, *Ordo*, 222-237 (still see further p. 182, and note to the lines), 253-254.

⁷⁾ Probably Rastell expressed his opinion about the origin of the Jury, when, on *Ordo*, 168, he described it ' pro more Lutetiae vsurpato ', whereas the *Expos.*, 516, generalizes the statement : ' iuxta gentis illius consuetudinem ', not feeling the interest of a jurist in that question : cp. note to *Ordo*, 168.

between Audley, backed by Henry VIII and by Cromwell, and one of the cleverest and most acute lawyers that England ever possessed, becomes one between brutal tyranny and clear-sighted right. If the argument was of paramount importance to Rastell, it had only an accessory interest for Erasmus. Since the fatal issue had been decided on beforehand, the trial was only a pretext which gave the appearance of juridical proceedings to mere tyranny. Nothing could be done against the King's will, and therefore Erasmus tries to represent his bosom friend as a victim worthy of pity, especially since he had always acted according to his conscience, — which assertion is introduced into the report and is repeated in six other places ¹⁾. Rastell did not exactly want to exclude the interest of pity roused through that assault on humane feeling : yet, far stronger was to him the interest of indignation at the ruthless treatment of truth, making justice serve as a mask to cruel tyranny. The *Ordo* kept intact the juridical structure of the original, the *Expositio* neglected and disfigured it.

In his first argument More pleads the principle that no punishment can be applied to a man on account of a law, unless he has said or done something against it : ' And what have I said or done against your Decree of Supremacy ? ' he asks, putting before the court the *quæstio facti*, the one which will be left finally to the jury to decide upon ²⁾. Yet that appeal is ignored in the *Expositio*, in which, instead, is quoted, irrelevantly, the trite maxim : ' *De occultis enim solus iudicat Deus* ' ³⁾. The judges then allege that a loyal subject does not condemn his Prince's decree, but constantly talks and approves of it. More retorts that his silence, if interpreted according to the law, is to be taken as approval ; further, if a subject should have to decide about the King's decree, ' you yourselves ', he argues, ' can judge whether there is any motive here for approval. I rather think ', he proceeds, ' that a good subject should tell his Prince what is true, what is according to duty and piety, and what

¹⁾ Cp. notes to *Ordo*, 62-3, 109-116, 131-3, 179-80, 188-89, 202 : it is no doubt that repetition of ' conscience ' which caused the strange comment on the trial in *PollHen.*, 333-334 ; *Expos.*, 513, 515, 516, 517.

²⁾ *Ordo*, 165.

³⁾ *Expos.*, 514 ; *Ordo*, 96.

promotes his welfare by preventing seditions within the realm, and assaults from without'; — thus alluding to the result of the impending papal excommunication. Instead of that argument, the *Expositio* develops quite a different debate ¹⁾: the judges state that '*omnis subditus... si de dicta constitutione interrogetur, tenetur et obligatur citra omnem dissimulationem respondere cathgorice: Regium edictum esse bonum, iustum et sanctum*'. That plea sounds like begging the question, and entails the abolition of all free judgment; it moreover makes quite irrelevant More's reply that, according to the legal adage, his silence rather approves, instead of reproving, the constitution; for the judges stated that, *if* interrogated, a good subject should express his approval, which condemns More's silence apodictically. In the *Expositio* the ex-Chancellor further replies that if the question is categorically put to him, a good subject '*magis obligatum esse Deo, conscientiae et animae suae, quam ulli alij rei in hoc mundo, maxime*', he adds, '*si talis conscientia, qualis est mea, nihil offendiculi, nihil seditionis pariat domino suo*'! Evidently all that is beside the question, and the use of the words *seditio* and *offendiculum* can hardly be justified in this argument, whereas in the one expressed in the *Ordo*, they are pertinent and to the point. No doubt Erasmus, — or whoever is responsible for the Latin rendering, if it was sent to him, — did not understand the sense of this passage, which is clear in the text of Morinck. In the *Expositio*, the judges lay down a law which not even a tyrant could impose without making mere jokes of the names of 'law' and of 'subject'; besides that highly improbable jurisprudence, the passage has this senseless plea: More is told that if a subject is questioned about the Constitution, he is to approve it categorically, and yet he concludes his reply by this anomaly: '*illud pro certo uobis affirmo, quod nulli mortalium unquam detexerim hac in re conscientiam meam*' ²⁾!

Replying to the charge of epistolary communication with Fisher, More says in the *Ordo* that the Bishop had asked what he had answered about the King's decree. He had written back that he had stated what in his judgment he

¹⁾ Cp. notes to *Ordo*, 106-116; *Expos.*, 514-515.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 515.

thought was right, and advised his friend to do the same ¹⁾. That sensible reply prevents any objection about having plotted about what to answer in court; it implies that More even wanted Fisher to express his own opinion in his own way, so as not to give the impression of having conferred about it together. In the *Expositio* the whole passage is different again, as, without doubt, the point entirely escaped the translator or the editor. More replies there: '*nihil aliud rescripsi, nisi me iam composuisse conscientiam, ipse <i. e., Fisher> componeret suam*' ²⁾! It is evident that there is no question here of conscience, but of truth; nor is there in that other passage, where, in the *Ordo*, More declares that he answered to the King what in his opinion was as near as possible to truth, whilst in the *Expositio*, once more, he states that he spoke '*ad hoc urgente me conscientia*' ³⁾. There certainly cannot be any question of *conscientia componenda*, namely of arranging one's conscience according to circumstances, making appear as good what cannot be avoided. Composing one's conscience might have been a shift to most of the English clergy who accepted the King's Supremacy 'conditionally'; More died just because he could not *componere conscientiam suam*!

In the argument about the letters, More declares that there is no reason at all why he should be condemned: 'if I had spoken out my mind, I might be suspect; 'what can you object', he asks, 'to my writing only this: « I stated what I thought to be right »' ? That conclusion constitutes a *negatio facti*, which, evidently, did not fit in with the '*componenda conscientia*', mentioned before in the *Expositio*, so that it was simply left out ⁴⁾. When, afterwards, the judge tells More, in the *Ordo*, that by refusing to acknowledge the King's Supremacy, he considers himself wiser, and wants to appear '*magis pius*' than all the bishops &c. of England, the *Expositio* represents '*magis pius*' by '*melioris conscientiae*' ⁵⁾, as if conscience had any weight in matters of truth and faith! The same palliative is used where Norfolk charges

¹⁾ *Ordo*, 180-183, notes; *Expos.*, 515-516.

²⁾ *Expos.*, 515-516.

³⁾ *Ordo*, 62-67; *Expos.*, 518.

⁴⁾ *Ordo*, 135-188; *Expos.*, 516.

⁵⁾ *Ordo*, 188-90; *Expos.*, 517.

More with insincerity, which elicits this reply : ' I am moved now to talk, as I do not want anybody to think that I was of your opinion because I have withheld my declaration for some time ' ; that effective declaration becomes this most vague statement : '*cogit necessitas ad exonandam conscientiam meam*' ¹⁾ ! That More cannot have meant or said such nonsense, is proved by the oath which follows : it was fit and appropriate for More to appeal to God as a proof that his silence was not an approval of the Statute, whereas it should be perfectly needless to call God to witness that he speaks to disburden his conscience ! The frequent introduction of that ' conscience ' -element into the relation of this trial testifies to a lack of understanding of the argument. Conscience has nothing to do with jurisprudence as it lies beyond its scope ; it is of the greatest importance in ethics and in the *forum internum*, but is of no value in the *forum externum* ; it certainly would exculpate no man before a judge if he declared that he had acted according to his conscience.

Equally infelicitous for the rendering of the juridical argument of the trial was the term *malitiose*, which is inserted in many places of the *Expositio* where it is not wanted. In the first of the three charges of the *Ordo*, the word is rightly used ²⁾, but it is afterwards introduced several times in the text of the *Expositio* with questionable result. Thus according to the *Ordo*, More concludes his defence : '*ut semel omnia dicam*' ; and declares that, against the famous decree, he has never said nor done anything which a *uir æquus* might judge as bad ; although he owns that nobody, not even the most cautious man, could prevent '*maleuoli et sycophantæ*' from telling things to princes and ruining '*homines candidi*', especially if they are in dignity or in Court ³⁾. More evidently hints here at his experience of the villainy of the Solicitor-General Richard Rich⁴⁾. Though unnamed, that man is charged by Rastell with a similar infamy towards Fisher, so that this

¹⁾ *Ordo*, 201-6, notes ; *Expos.*, 517-18.

²⁾ *Ordo*, 56, *sq.* : '*accusor quod... maliciose regiæ maiestati aduerser*' ; *Expos.*, 513 : '*ad ...articulum, qui conatur ostendere meam in Regem maleuolentiam*' ... ; Chambers, 320 ; Harps., 359-60, 367.

³⁾ Cp. *Ordo*, 157-61, nn.

⁴⁾ *Ordo*, 158-161.

place gets a particular importance. Erasmus knew that deceitful tricks were used to ensnare the martyrs, for he insinuates the insidious examining by Cromwell in the *Expositio*, whilst, in the *Ordo*, More merely mentions that he was cross-questioned in the Tower ¹). Yet here Erasmus spoils that covert accusation of More by inserting twice the word *malitiose*, so that instead of the decided formal charge which is found in the *Ordo*, it has become a mere supposition in the *Expositio*: ‘*at fieri potuit, ut ad benignam Regis clementiam aliquid malitiose fuerit delatum*’ ²). Even into the question to be debated by the jury — which the *Ordo* enounces as: ‘*num quid Morus contra... decretum admisisset*’, — the word *malitiose* is unduly inserted in the *Expositio*: ‘*utrum Thomas Morus malitiose obtulisset prædictæ constitutioni Regis, an non*’. For it is certain that the judges, who attached no importance to the term *malitiose*, took great care not to put a question to the jury which might have elicited a negative reply ³). They wanted too much More’s condemnation to run the risk of getting another answer than a frank indictment. Moreover, there was not here any longer any question of ‘*malitiose*’, but of the very ‘fact’. — When, after the verdict, More declares that he is on the side of the greater part of Christianity, Norfolk accuses him of showing a *proteruita* up to then well hidden, to which More declares according to the *Ordo*: ‘I am moved by *pietas et religio* to state what I am stating without circumlocution’. In the *Expositio* Erasmus arranged a double use of *malevolentia*: ‘*Nunc More... perspicue liquet tua malevolentia*’. — ‘*Milordt... ut hoc loquar non incitat malevolentia, sed cogit necessitas ad exonerandam conscientiam meam*’ ⁴). The wording may be pleasing and witty, yet the rendering does not show the least respect to the words as the martyr pronounced them, and it disfigures the argument, even although the version should offer no material mistake. With its rough and ungainly style, the *Ordo* reproduces far more delicately and faithfully what may be safely accepted as Rastell’s original.

Besides that frequent misinterpretation of the elements

¹) *Ordo*, 86, sq, note; *Expos.*, 514: ‘*Domino Secretario Regis ac... illius consilio, rogatus*’ &c.

²) *Ordo*, 156-161; cp. notes; *Expos.*, 516.

³) *Ordo*, 165; cp. note; *Expos.*, 516.

⁴) *Ordo*, 200-202; *Expos.*, 517.

of the juridical procedure in the *Expositio*, fully indicated by a comparison with the *Ordo*, Erasmus was evidently mistaken when he added the term '*Killim*' as verdict of the Jury ¹). No English lawyer would have written it as a coalition, which is evidently the pseudo-phonetic writing of a foreigner, better acquainted with the sound than with the orthography. Nor does it seem to be the proper formula, since the members of the jury had not the right to pronounce any sentence, nor to indict any punishment, but only to give their opinion about whether the guilt of the man under judgment was proved or not by the trial: most probably they used the word '*Guilty*' ²), which Erasmus mixed up, as he wrote from mere recollection. The *Ordo* has here a different version: '*redeuntes* <viz. the members of the jury> *ad regnj procures et iudices, ad hoc designatos, quid definissent deferunt; qui* <— namely the *procures et iudices*> *deinde hominem condemnarunt*'. This makes '*Killim*' superfluous, and rightly attributes the condemnation to the *procures et iudices* ³). — Then follows in the *Ordo* ⁴): '*Quam sententiam ipse Cancellarius per se propalam enunciauit*': — which, no doubt, means that the Chancellor made public the decision of the jury and the Court before giving the final judgment. Here again the *Expositio* swerves from the original: '*Ac mox per D. Cancellarium lata est sententia iuxta tenorem nouæ constitutionis*': — which is evidently premature, as it makes More pronounce his speech after the judgment had fallen ⁵). Things did not happen that way. It was the custom that the judge, after proclaiming the verdict of the jury, and before proceeding to give the final sentence, asked the accused whether he had anything to remark. History has it that Lord Audley did not seem willing to put that customary question to More, and at once started passing the sentence, — for which breach of formality he was harshly censured. More was looking out for that moment; he wanted to disburden his mind, as he had been taunted before with cowardice for not 'speaking even clear out'. He interrupted Lord

¹) *Expos.*, 517: '*pronunciarunt Killim, hoc est, dignus est morte*'.

²) Cp. Kerker, 307, and note to *Ordo*, 167-168; Harps., 263, ⁶.

³) *Ordo*, 167-168.

⁴) *Ordo*, 168-177, note.

⁵) *Expos.*, 517.

Audley, who stayed his judgment and demanded what he had to say ¹⁾. It was only after More's speech ²⁾ that the Chancellor asked the Lord Chief-Justice Fitz-James whether the indictment were sufficient, and, on the affirmative reply, gave judgment. Thus the editor of the *Expositio*, by introducing injudicious changes into the passage of the original report which narrates the decision of the jury, the last defence of the prisoner and the pronouncing of the sentence ³⁾, introduced confusion, if not untruth, into the story of the trial; he thus added one more item to the long series of places in which he obscured the clear, effective progress of the argumentation of Rastell's sober and sincere report, by curtailing the text and introducing into it unnecessary ornaments and witticisms.

* * *

Besides that incomplete and inexact rendering of the juridical argument of the trial, the *Expositio* offers an unfair treatment of the noble victim it is supposed to represent in all the splendour of truth. That applies first to the unintentional injuries done to More's character, as the natural consequence of the inexact changes and alterations of the original text. It sounds like egoism hearing the martyr refer constantly to his 'conscience' in the *Expositio*, whereas his appeals to truth and justice in the *Ordo* are far more in accordance with his lofty spirit. Thus also the fact of placing his speech after the judgment, makes it as an outburst of disappointment and despair, whereas it is an act of deep conviction if spoken in the teeth of death, before the judge has passed the sentence, about which hardly any doubt is left. There are moreover throughout the *Expositio* small changes which are seemingly accidental, but which, under the circumstances, suggest an ominous inference of partiality. There was, for example, not the least reason to represent the uncommitting '*ad principes*' of the *Ordo*, by the

¹⁾ Chambers, 339-340; Harps., 865-67.

²⁾ Or, at least, the larger part of it: possibly the last paragraph, about the King, *Ordo*, II. 237-246, was spoken after the sentence had fallen: Chambers, 342.

³⁾ *Expos.*, 517; *Ordo*, 168-180.

flattering denomination : ‘*ad benignam Regis clementiam*’, which sounds almost ironical ¹⁾. There was no necessity either to remark, before describing the sad meeting of father and daughter : ‘*Hic obiter accidit spectaculum ipsa condemnatione miserabilius*’ ²⁾ : which minimises the criminal condemnation of an innocent, and makes it of less signification than the ‘*obiter accidens*’ tragic meeting ! — During that interview More consoles Margaret by saying : ‘it is God’s will : thou hast known since long all my secrets’ ! The *Expositio* drops here the most suggestive statement, represented in the *Ordo* as : ‘*in hanc semper sortem armatum sciuisi*’ ³⁾, and adds, instead, the flippant detail : ‘*simulque dedit osculum ex consuetudine gentis, si quem dimittunt*’. As if there were no fitter occasion to expatiate on the famous English custom than at the relation of such a crisis ! Or as if there were any civilized country in space or time, where, under similar circumstances, a father would not embrace a well-beloved child ⁴⁾ !

That slighting of the martyr, from whose speech are thus left out in the *Expositio*, not only the arguments which he opposes to the charges brought in against him, but even the justification of his silence ⁵⁾ and his preparedness for the ordeal, could not be explained as a mere slip. No more could the evident toning down of all passages of the *Ordo* in which is referred to the King, or to his divorce, or to his Acts — for Erasmus seems to know that the King is responsible for the Acts decreed by his subservient Parliament, and he therefore, no doubt, left out or weakened those expressions, kept by the *Ordo*, which refer to the ‘general assentation’ and to the ‘qualified members’ of that assembly ⁶⁾. At

¹⁾ *Ordo*, 158; *Expos.*, 516.

²⁾ *Ordo*, 249, 269-70, nn; *Expos.*, 518. This remark was added in the 2nd edition; in the first, of October 1585, it was not found, for it is absent from the French, German or Spanish translations.

³⁾ *Ordo*, 261-62.

⁴⁾ *Expos.*, 519; the good-bye kiss is not mentioned in the translations : *Beschreibung*, A 4 r; *Récit*, Harps., 265, 12; Chambers, 348. Cp. before, p. 72.

⁵⁾ The beginning of More’s speech after the verdict of the jury, in which he declares that he had answered up to then reservedly on purpose, as he considered that for the time being it was sufficient to show what he felt by his silence : *Ordo*, 174-177, is left out from *Expos.*, 517.

⁶⁾ *Ordo*, 78-79, 100-102, 190; *Expos.*, 515, 517. When Lord Audley asked

any rate where the *Ordo* mentions that More's goods were confiscated, the *Expositio* does not refer to them ¹⁾; when the ex-Chancellor declares, according to the *Ordo*: 'I am condemned, *quo iure, illi viderint, qui authores fuere* ', the *Expositio* mitigates that evident accusation to: '*quo iure Deus nouit* ' ²⁾. The *Ordo* denies to a '*princeps prorsus prophanus* ' the right to be '*caput... alicuius Ecclesiae aut Ecclesiasticorum* ': the *Expositio* refuses it to a '*Laicus, aut ut uocant secularis* ' ³⁾. Similarly the connection with the royal person, which is mentioned in the *Ordo* for the Council: '*aduersus vnum concilium regium* ', is ignored in '*pro unico uestro concilio* ', as the *Expositio* words it ⁴⁾. In his argumentation More appeals to his own judges when questioning the righteousness of the Act of Supremacy, and tells them: '*vos videritis* ' ! whereas the *Expositio* leaves out that appeal ⁵⁾; further he called it an *impietas* ⁶⁾ and an *insania* ⁷⁾, but those incriminations in his ultimate speech, as the *Ordo* gives them, are left out by Erasmus. Considering the promises made in baptism to adhere to one undivided Church, More declares that Act a perjury, as it attempts breaking that unity and inseparability; the *Expositio* glides over that passage and dwells on a diversion: the English by themselves have not the right either to make a general law, or to convene a Council ⁸⁾. Then More, touching the quick, declares that it is not so much for the Supremacy that he has to suffer as for disapproving of the King's second marriage, the origin and cause of all the evil. He compares himself to John the Baptist, and of course, Henry VIII, to Herod; for, he says, there is no difference between the man marrying a second wife whilst his first is alive, and a woman who takes a second husband leaving the first. He concludes

the Lord Chief-Justice whether the indictment of More were sufficient, he did not refer to the King's authority, but to the Act of Parliament: Chambers, 342.

¹⁾ *Ordo*, 5; *Expos.*, 512.

²⁾ *Ordo*, 178; *Expos.*, 517.

³⁾ *Ordo*, 185-186; *Expos.*, 517.

⁴⁾ *Ordo*, 194-95; *Expos.*, 517.

⁵⁾ *Ordo*, 107-109; *Expos.*, 515.

⁶⁾ *Ordo*, 196-197; *Expos.*, 517.

⁷⁾ *Ordo*, 204; *Expos.*, 517.

⁸⁾ *Ordo*, 211-20; *Expos.*, 518.

that, instead of being a punishment and an ignominy, his death is a cause of glory to himself and to all who are with him, as he endures it for the sake of *pietas*, of *religio*, of the laws of the Church, and because he refuses to approve of the *incestas nuptias* ¹⁾. That entire passage, constituting the formal condemnation of the King from the mouth of his most loyal subject, was left out of both issues of the *Expositio*; the history of the Martyr has thus been deprived of that feature, which proves that he did not go down as a meek and patient sufferer, but as an outspoken defender of truth and right, clear-sighted and undaunted under the crushing judgment. He finishes his speech by hoping for the King's resipiscence; but, in so doing, he describes the '*regia majestas*' as : '*siue per affectus nonnichil hallucinans, siue imposturis adulatorum, aliquantum a vero abducta*', at least in the *Ordo*; for no word in the *Expositio* refers to that ultimate reference to Anne Boleyn's ascendancy over, and to Cromwell's fawning on, Henry VIII ²⁾. Only the wish for a common salvation and, meanwhile, a salutary *consilium* is expressed in both Latin texts. Yet what a difference ! In the *Ordo* More says : 'I wish that, whereas the King, now led away from truth, is at variance with me, *veritate melius perspecta, mecum sentiat*'; in the *Expositio* there is no question of truth, but merely a pun on a seemingly unimportant quarrel : '*Confido... fore ut... qui nunc discordes sumus in hoc mundo, in futuro... simus concordēs*' : as if More was so soft-minded that he would accept death just for a mere disagreement with a man whose intellectual inferiority he cannot but have felt ³⁾. As to the 'counsel', which in the *Ordo* is represented as healthy, wholesome; '*salubri consilio*', — evidently a better, sounder insight in things, — the *Expositio* makes it into '*bonos consultatores*' ⁴⁾ ! Henry had them, but he either forbade them to come into his presence, or sent them to the scaffold. No doubt the editor wished to discharge him, at least apparently, of the accusation of tyranny and even of villainy, which posterity has

¹⁾ *Ordo*, 221-237; *Expos.*, 518. Cp. Buchanan's *Baptistes*; before p.28.

²⁾ *Ordo*, 237-241; *Expos.*, 518.

³⁾ *Ordo*, 239-245; *Expos.*, 518.

⁴⁾ *Ordo*, 246; *Expos.*, 518.

brought out for the murder of More ¹⁾; indeed Erasmus must have known from experience the perfect uselessness of counsellors to so impulsive and wilful a man as Henry Tudor proved to be throughout his life.

* * *

There seems to be a contradiction between the two earliest reports of the trial, Rastell's and William Roper's. In the latter's *Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore*, the whole trial is taken up by the circumstantial refutation of the false testimony brought in by Richard Rich ²⁾ at the moment that things were going badly on account of More's victorious plea ³⁾. There is not any mention there of the threefold charge against the ex-Chancellor, the debate of which constitutes the bulk of the *Expositio* and of the *Ordo*, in neither of which is referred to Rich's villainy. Far from contradicting, the two reports complete each other, as clearly results from the official *Indictment*, in which the discussion of the triple accusation is followed by Rich's testimony about the interview of June 12 at the Tower ⁴⁾. Rastell, the presumed author of the English original, implies that more things were debated than those which he related, as results from these words of the *Ordo*: 'His verbis habitis et alijs plerisque eodem spectantibus'...⁵⁾. He may have had a personal motive to leave out all reference to Rich's perjury. In the third fragment of his *Life of More*, composed about 1555, he relates a similar vile forswearing in the proceedings against Fisher without mentioning any name ⁶⁾, whereas the author of the *Lyfe of Fysher*, written between 1567 and 1577, accuses straight out Mr. Richard Rich, the King's Solicitor-General ⁷⁾. In Queen Mary's reign that Rich seems to have repented and become an ardent Roman Catholic from reformer that he was ⁸⁾; and on that account Rastell may have spared him

¹⁾ Cp. e. g., Hearnshaw, 143.

²⁾ Roper, 86-92; Harps., 188-192; Ortrov, 324-25.

³⁾ Chambers, 337. Cp. before, pp. 127-28, and *Ordo*, 157-61, n.

⁴⁾ Harps., *cciii*, *ccx*, 269, *sq*, 348; cp. before, p. 95.

⁵⁾ *Ordo*, 162.

⁶⁾ Ortrov, 403-5, 407-9.

⁷⁾ Ortrov, 309-313; cp. also 67-68, 320-27, 388-85; Chambers, 382-88.

⁸⁾ Cooper, I, 253-56, 555.

in More's biography. Twenty years earlier, when writing a report of his uncle's trial and death, he may have been bound in gratitude for help or protection, which he, student of laws, may have received from the hand of Rich, who was reader in the Middle-Temple from 1530, attorney-general for Wales from 1532, and the King's Solicitor-General from October 1533 ¹⁾. As a thankful man he no doubt preferred not to mention his superior's dishonour; if so, the silence about Rich's evidence is a proof that the report of More's trial was due to Rastell.

However this may have been, it is more than probable that Rastell dropped the Rich-incident because from a lawyer's point of view it falls far short of the rest of the trial in importance. To outsiders — like Roper and his authorities, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Richard Heywood and John Webbe ²⁾, — the almost theatrical failure of the perjury which turned into a triumph for More, must have been most momentous, whereas the rest of the debate may have seemed unintelligible talk. To Rastell, on the contrary, the false witness and his unmasking had merely a spectacular significance. If More had been condemned on the strength of that perjury, he would have been the victim of a judicial mistake, caused by the false evidence of a man who was labouring under an error, or was moved by animosity or cupidity or any other prompting except truth, which it was the judge's duty to test. Of course in Rich's case there was prepossessedness and tyrannical interference, of which far more powerful proof is provided by More's pleading free from the charges of the indictment. His irresistible arguing proved that the condemnation by the jury and the Bench was not a mistake, but an injustice decided beforehand on the order of the highest authority in the land. It makes the ex-Chancellor not the victim of blind animosity of one or more individuals, but a martyr for the highest principles of right, justice and religion. It was no doubt on that account that in the report destined for the Netherlands and for humanity at large, Rastell did not refer to Rich and his perjury, but devoted all his attention to the development of the unparalleled plea of the 'most virtuous Englishman' ³⁾, who also was one of the greatest English lawyers.

¹⁾ Cooper, I, 253.

²⁾ Chambers, 834.

³⁾ Cp. Chambers, 277, 365, *sq.*

D. CONCLUSION

The conclusion suggested by this study and by the comparison of the various narratives of Thomas More's trial and death, points out that an *Expositio*, now lost, reproducing an English report, presumably by William Rastell, also lost, was edited in October 1535 by Erasmus, and that it was translated into German (*Beschreybung*), into French (*Récif*) and into Spanish by the end of that same year. For in the last days of 1535 or the beginning of 1536, Erasmus published a much enlarged edition of the *Expositio*, to which was joined a report on the execution of Fisher and of the Carthusians, as well as comments on More and Fisher: it was reprinted in Antwerp, 1536; in Basle, 1563, from the original manuscript; in Leyden, 1703; also by Fischart, 1536, Beyschlag, 1727, besides being translated twice into German in or soon after 1536. Another Latin translation of the English report by Rastell has now come to light: it was made before any of the editions of the *Expositio* had appeared, no doubt in the summer of 1535.

The original report by Rastell which is lost, is consequently represented by the *Expositio* and the *Ordo*: their narrative is evidently based on authentic evidence; yet it is offered in a quite different spirit. In the *Expositio* it is arranged for the benefit of the general reader. The rigid features of the juridical argumentation are omitted, and the emotional element is brought out ostensibly. The lively, witty style, and the interesting explanations make it into an attractive piece of literature. The calm antipathy towards Henry VIII is toned down by an omission right, and a flattering detail left, so as not to offend any reader beyond the Dover Straits, who, although feeling in his heart for the victim, did not want to forego his loyalty to his Liege Lord. The hero himself was not lifted up too far above the average humanity and the scene between More and Margaret Roper was certainly expected to cause a far deeper impression than the intricacies of the debate. All that shows that in the mind of Erasmus, this sketch was to be a pamphlet for the larger number of readers. With his instinct of our present-day publicists, he knew what his great international reading public wanted, and he gave it them, in such a way that for

several centuries his edition was as *the* story of More's trial and death ¹⁾.

If the *Expositio* and its various editions and translations are as the popular, the vulgarization edition of that narrative, there is also an erudite, a scientific issue, which, contrary to custom, comes out, here, long after the other. Yet it answers all the requirements of the best present-day research work. The foregoing comparison strongly recommends the *Ordo* as a highly interesting document, — not for its style and literary value, but for the completeness with which it reproduces the original; for the nice and faithful rendering of the juridical structure of the arguments debated at the trial, which the translator was too modest to alter or to curtail; finally for not being an amphibious product of a wish to keep the memory of a martyr-friend green, and the dread of arousing the displeasure of a tyrant-patron. It is, indeed, a simple, straightforward, but bold narrative of all that was said and done by one of the greatest sons of England and one of the most humane of the martyrs of the Church during the last days of his earthly life — and several of the details of his trial are revealed here for the very first time after four centuries of oblivion.

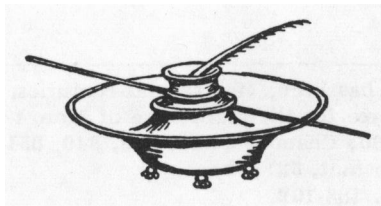
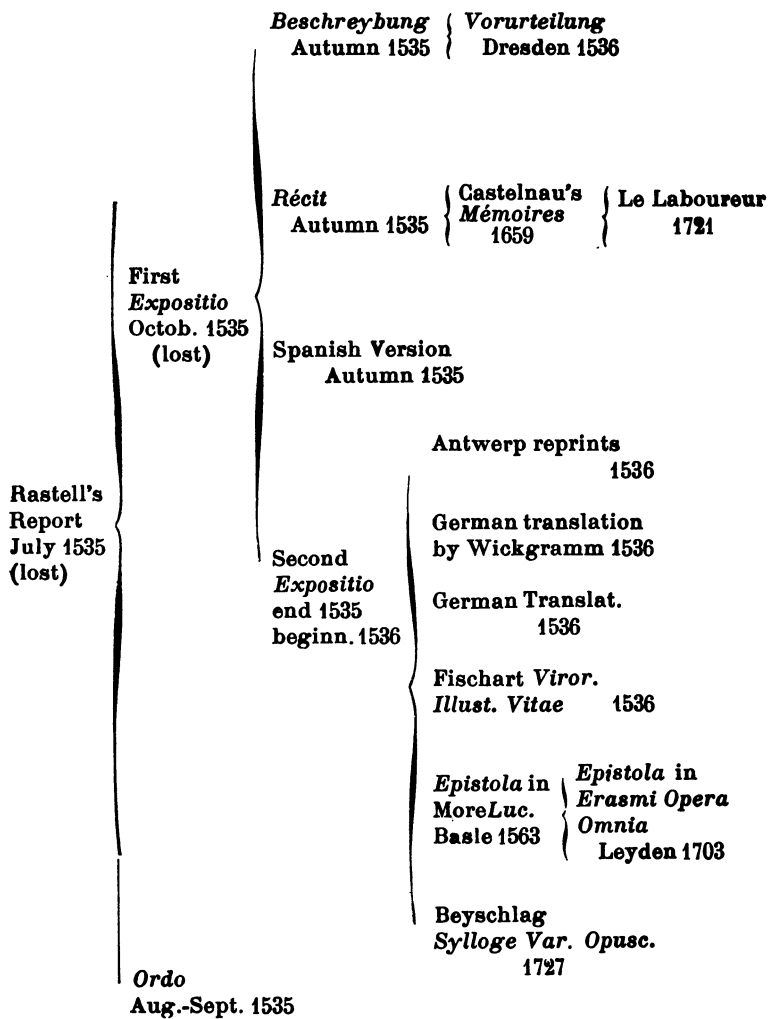
* * *

The comparative value of the *Expositio* and of the *Ordo* is graphically shown by a detailed illustration of the lines of the latter with the corresponding passages in the former; that table follows the notes to the text on which it is built up ²⁾. The conclusion about the relative value of the various narratives of the trial and death of Sir Thomas More explained in the foregoing study, is represented in the following pedigree.

¹⁾ The *Expositio* has been, for several centuries, considered as the most important source for the knowledge of More's last days : Ortrov 35, 65, 329, 334, 336; Chambers, 334, 343, 349, 351, sq, 367, 385, sq; Harps., 255, sq; Constant, 531; &c.

²⁾ Cf. further, pp. 188-192.

PEDIGREE of the *ACTA THOMÆ MORI*



V

THE NEW NARRATIVE



V. THE NEW NARRATIVE

A. THE EDITION

The text of the *Ordo*, on ff 309 *r* to 313 *v* of the MS.391^B of the *Cartulaires et Manuscrits, Belgian Archives*¹), is entirely written by Gerard Morinck: as hardly any corrections were made by him, it shows that it is a copy. Like for all the other documents in the volume, the beginning of the title, of the text, and of some parts are marked by paragraphs in orange-coloured pigment with a line parting from the bottom and going as far as three or four words onward. The entire title is underlined; the few words crossed off in the text were covered with the same light-orange ink ²).

The document is reproduced here as exactly as possible ³), with the only exception of the regularized use of capital initials ⁴), and of modern marks of punctuation replacing the slanting lines. The division of the long text into paragraphs has been adopted for facility's sake and the lines have been numbered. Abbreviations, when clearly marked, have been expanded ⁵); the *e* with a cedilla is represented by *œ*, occasionally by *æ*. Cases offering any possibility of doubt are fully described in the textual notes, in which are also recorded most minutely all subsequent changes and alterations.

¹) *MonHL*, 73-74, 489-490; cp. before, pp. 99, *sq.*

²) The monk who adorned the texts with that light orange pigment did not make any distinction between authentic texts or notes: he used it profusely for the verses added on f 313 *v*, even by later hands, as well as for the title and the various paragraphs of the *Articuli Visitationum*, f 314 *r* and *v*; cp. further *App.* I, b, II, b.

³) The original spelling is adhered to everywhere, and even evident mistakes are reproduced.

⁴) In many cases it is difficult to decide whether a word begins with a capital or a minuscule letter.

⁵) Such as the signs for an *m* or *n* or a final *-um*, or for *per-*, *por-*, *pre-*, *pro-*, &c, and the various forms of the relative pronoun.

TEXT of the *Expositio Fidelis*
(*Expos.*, 511-520), quoted for comparison's sake.

The passages and words printed in *italics* are not represented in the *Ordo*, to the lines of which the figures in the right margin refer; those marked by an asterisk * were added to the second issue (end of 1535, beginning of 1536) of the *Expositio*.

Expos., 511



EPISTOLA DE MORTE D. THOMAE MORI

& Episcopi Roffensis, insignium uirorum in Anglia

G. COVRINVS NVCKERINVS PHIL. MONT. S. D.

QVONIAM iuxta Pythagorae sententiam oportet omnia esse communia, recte collegit Euripides, & dolores inter amicos oportere communes esse. Accipies igitur uir amicissime ab amico minime laeta, sed omni lacrymarum genere bonis omnibus deploranda : quanquam arbitror famam istuc iam dudum omnia pertulisse prius quam ad nos, de morte quorundam apud Anglos insignium uirorum, sed praecipue THOMAE MORI, dum uiueret eius regni Baronis inclyti, ac supremi iudicis, quem illi Cancellarium appellant : qua dignitate non est apud eam gentem alia maior excepto Rege, eoque quum prodit, aureum sceptrum imposita corona Caesarea gestatur ad unum latus, ad alterum liber. Quae uero sum narraturus partim e schedis Gallice scriptis, quae hic circumferuntur desumpsi, partim e rumoribus. Nam nihil horum
512 uidi. Sed priusquam aggrediar, | paucis describam Londoniensis urbis situm. Ciuitas in latum angusta, ad Thamyssim flumen sic in longum porrecta est, ut uideatur non posse

B. THE TEXT of the ORDO

(f809 r: 7/11 of the size of the original)

*De Cancellatione Joh. Wilei. Cancellarii
primarii aliquando regni Anglie, quia in
impositis impositis ipse hanc orationem affert
in caput suum Ecclesie Anglorum facta
voluit: respondens latine respondit in anno 1804
ille perierat*

¶ Semel regnante illius die publico obli suffragio
et integritate et decessum post minuat utrumque
remittit in quo personis damnum dicitur quibus
iam manifestum erat: post in fimum redacta fortuna
quia in impositis impositis regis suffragio remittit: anno
scilicet 1804. ¶ S. J. prima July regis undebat ad
d. regis a regis designatus publici suffragio. Id est
dicitur manifestum de ipso, ob quod in dicitur fuerat: ubi
post multa, que oborta fuerat, presens et publicata:
propter regis et presens Cuius Manifestum sunt in
modum allegare. ¶ Cuius Regis Mon. tam presens
triginta presens. Non sunt presens pro sua illa singulari
in ubi alio regis sapientia, ubi quidem ex animo
voluit, Exponit presens, regis in presens generis
presens et dignitate, et ipse tibi omne dicit, Adit
presens, quanto dicitur in regis fuerat, quatinus
manifestum regis ista sua dicitur redimere offem.
dicit, siqui si dicit munit dicit de presens sanctum
redimere, et regis ista in quibus plurimum
obtemperare fuerat ex animo voluntat voluit presens
(que regis manifestis dicitur ista siquit in si dignum
presens) et non dicitur modo obtemperare videntur
in presens redimere post dicitur, Si autem dicitur
istam suam presens punitur tunc presens
dicitur tibi etiam alio etiam, in d. quod maxime
male suo fuerat, sed que Mon. dicit presens
inquit nunc ista que dicit de 2. d. d. d. d. d. d.

Officiis

Expos.,
512
cont.

desinere, unde & nomen uidetur inditum : siquidem apud Flandros loca mari uicina Dunen appellant. Indidem dictum uidetur Galliarum Lugdunum, quasi dicas, longas ripas. Ad orientem in extremo habet arcem bene munitam, qua reges interdum utuntur, uulgus Turrin appellat. Sed in eadem seruari solent uiri nobiles, aut alias dignitate quapiam prae-
minentes, qui uidentur aliquid aduersus Regiam maiestatem deliquisse. In altero extremo ad occasum insigne monasterium est Benedictinorum, uulgus appellat Vuestmonasterium : & huic proximum Regis palatium structurae ueteris, sed quo nunc reges parum delectantur. Palatio adiuncta est domus spaciosissima, nullis fulta columnis, in qua sedent Iudices. Vtrunque aedificium flumini imminet, ut hinc illinc cymba uehi possint. In hac arce THOMAS MORUS posteaquam multis mensibus fuisset captiuus,



Calend. Iulij anno Domini M. D. (8) (Ordo)

XXXV. productus est ad modo dictam Curiam, capitis causam dicturus (9) apud tribunal Iudicum a Rege delegatorum. * Ibat reus baculo innixus tam longam uiam, corpore graui aegrotatione in carcere debilitato, nihil tamen perturbationis uultu prae se ferens. Primum recitati sunt articuli criminum quae illi obieiebantur. Mox Cancellarius qui Moro successit, (11) ac dux Nortfordij hunc in modum reum appellarunt.

- 518 En uides Magister More * (sic appellant mediocri dignitate prae|ditos), (17) te grauiter deliquisse in Regiam Maiestatem. attamen speramus te, si modo resipiscas, & abiures istam obstinatam opinionem in qua hac-

ORDO CONDEMNATIONIS THOMÆ MORJ, CANCEL-
LARIJ PRIMARIJ ALIQUANDO REGNJ ANGLIÆ, QUIA
IN INCESTAS NUPTIAS REGIS HENRICJ OCTAVJ
ASSENTIRJ, EUMQUE CAPUT SUMMUM ECCLESIE
ANGLICANÆ FATERJ NOLUERIT : COMPENDIO LA-
TINE REDDITUS : ANNO ILLO QUO ILLE PERIERAT

THOMAS cognomento Morus, vir publico orbis
suffragio et integerrimus et doctissimus, post
iniurias teterrimj carceris, in quo perhen-
niter damnatus, decimum quintum iam men-
sem marcuerat, post in fiscum redactas for-
tunas quia in impias nuptias regis suffragarij
renueret, anno salutis humanæ .1. 5. 35. prima Julij
coram iudicibus ad id negocij a rege designatis publice
sistitur. Postremo dicturus causam de ijs, ob quæ in vin-
culis fuerat, vbi post multa, quæ obiecta fuere, præsentem
eo publicata, procures regni et præsertim Dux Noirfordius
hunc in modum alloquitur : Quid Thoma More tam præ-
fracte tergiuersaris ? Non facis profecto pro tua illa singu-
larj in rebus alijs cognita sapientia. Nos quidem ex animo
tibi bene volumus. Cupimus seruare, cupimus in pristino
honore seruare et dignitate ; at ipse tibi omnino dees.
Vides perspicue, quanto hactenus in errore fueris, quan-
tumque maiestatem regiam ista tua inuincibili contumacia
offenderis. Atqui si vel nunc demum ad pristinam sanita-

Ordo &c.] on f 809 r.

4. Condemnationis] corrected from Condempnationis

vi. anno illo quo ille perierat] added afterwards by the same hand

8 perhenniter]

11 Noirfordius]

15 tibi] added over the line

Expos.
518 *cont.* tenus tam procaciter perstitisti, ueniam a Regis clementia consequu-
turum. (Ordo, 20)

Ad hæc Morus. Domini mei, ego summo (27)
cordis affectu ago uobis gratias pro ista uestra amica erga me uoluntate :
tantum illud oro Deum omnipotentem, confirmare dignetur me in hac
qua nunc sum sententia, ut in ea perseuerem usque ad mortem. (84)

Caeterum quum reputo quam (41)
prolixi quamque graues articuli sunt quibus oneror, uereor ne mihi nec
ingenium suppetat, nec memoria, nec oratio quae sufficiat ad respon-
dendum omnibus, praesertim quum in carcere tam diu fuerim detentus,
in quo graui aegrotatione contraxi corporis debilitatem, quae me nunc
etiam habet. Tum iussu Iudicum allata est sella in qua sederet. Vbi (44)
consedisset, prosequutus est institutum sermonem hunc in modum. (46)

20 tem redire, et errata ista in quibus plurimum iam tem-
 poris obstinate hæres, ex animo recantare volueris, spera-
 mus (quæ regiæ maiestatis clementia est, si quis ea se
 dignum præbeat) te non impunitatem modo obtinere,
 verum etiam in pristinam redire posse gratiam. Sin autem
 25 dementem istam tuam sententiam peruciatius tuerj per-
 rexeris, videndum tibi etiam atque etiam, ne id quam
 maximo malo tuo feceris. Ad quæ Morus : Viri præstan-
 tissimj inquit, nichil est quod hac de re vehementius me
 sollicitetis. Officium quidem et studium in me vestrum,
 30 perquam gratum est, et si vires suppeterent, michi etiam
 vobis pari humanitate repensandum. Verum, adeo me non
 penitet eius esse sententiæ in qua hactenus fui, vt nichil
 æque in votis habeam, quam benignitate Dei in ea ad
 mortem vsque persistere, quando nichil prorsus in ea
 35 videam, quod non modis omnibus tum pietatj tum sanitati
 respondeat.

Petunt deinde, respondeat ergo palam omnibus ad
 obiecta, vt dum omnibus constiterit quidnam sentiat, nemo
 quicquam in eum grauius præter meritum, statutum, postea
 40 criminetur.

Ad quod ille, causatus vires tum corporis tum ingenij,
 diuturnitate carceris supra modum fractas, respondit,
 vererj se, ne tanto laborj, præsertim quia res prolixam
 orationem postularet non sufficiat. Jussa est igitur afferri
 45 sella, in qua acquiescens commodius diceret ; qua allata,
 residens, hunc in modum verba fecit : Auditores optimj et
 quotquot adestis, quibus hodie, ita volente Deo, publicum
 spectaculum factus sum, velim quidem coram vobis fusius
 causam dicere, de his de quibus reus agor, si modo vel
 50 tenuitas harum virium id permetteret, vel nisi toties ante-
 hac rogatus, de nonnullis quid sentiam satis liqueret. Atta-
 men quia rursus sollicitor vt animum meum palam omni-

20 plurimum] corrected from plurimus

29 Officium &c] on f 809 v

31 humanitate] second a added afterwards

Quod ad primum attinet (56)
articulum, qui conatur ostendere meam in Regem maleuolentiam, in
negocio posterioris matrimonij, confiteor ingenue, me semper restitisse
illius serenissimae Maiestati. Nec est animus super hoc negotio quicquam (61)
aliud dicere, quam quod hactenus semper dixi, ad hoc urgente me con-
scientia :

per quam ut non debebam, ita nec uolebam principem meum (64)
caelare ueritatem. Nec hic est ulla proditio quae intenditur, quin potius (65)
ni id fecissem, * *praesertim in re tanti momenti, unde pendebat mea sen-*
tentia, & principis honos, & regni tranquillitas, tum uere fuisset quod
514 nunc obijcitur, maleuolus, perfidus ac proditor. Ob hoc *delictum* (si (67)
modo delictum appellandum est) grauissimas dedi poenas, exutus omni- (70)
bus facultatibus meis, ac perpetuo addictus carceri, in quo menses iam
quindecim totos fui detentus.

Sed his omissis tantum ad ea respondebo
quae sunt huius negocij praecipua. (75)

Quod obijcitur, me incurrisse in poenam uiolatae constitutionis, quae
proximo consilio prodita est, me iam in carcere agente, quasi malitioso
animo, perfidiose, ac proditorie Regiae Maiestati detraxerim famam,
honorem ac dignitatem, quae illi per dictam constitutionem erat tributa,
uidelicet quod ibi declaratur sub Iesu Christo supremum caput eccle- (80)
siae Anglicanae : in primis respondebo ad hoc quod mihi obijcitur,

bus exponam, non grauabor iterum ad singula respondere, sed quam possum paucissimis, quia aliter non queo : vos
 55 aures commodate.

Primum omnium accusor, quod contumaciter et maliciose regiæ maiestatj aduerser in alteris his eius nuptijs. Ingenue fateor, aduersor et aduersabor, non maliciose quidem vt dicitis, sed candide et syncere ; neque vnquam adducar, 60 spero, vt eas meo calculo approbem ; jdque quod alias, ea de re rogatus respondi, idem nunc quoque pro responso haberj velim. Tum quidem respondi, quod iudicio meo ad veritatem magis accederet : jdem nunc responsum sit.

Debeo autem principi meo, in cuius fidem et obsequium 65 iuratus sum, non fæde adularj, et contra fas iusque turpiter ad gratiam loqui ; sed constanter et ingenue, id quod res est, et veritas habet, exponere. Alioquj impostor potius et proditor, quam officiosus et frugi minister forem. Quod si quæ respondi falsa existimassem esse, non ita desipio vt 70 eam ob causam ad carcerem perpetuum, in quo quindecim iam menses egi, et ad euersionem omnium fortunarum descendissem. Nunc autem hæc incommoda alacriter subiens, quid aliud profiteor, quam quod dixi, verum, sanum, et Christianum esse ; diuersam sententiam, impiam, 75 falsam et vecordem. Sed transeo ad aliud quod præcipuum esse volunt. Dicunt me grauiter maiestatem regiam violasse, et honorj eius ac elogio vehementer derogasse : quod assentirj noluerim cuidam decreto amplissimj concilij, quo proxime suffragijs omnium qui interfuerunt, 80 definitum est, regem esse et deinceps habendum ab omnibus caput totius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, secundum Jesum Christum Seruatorem, non Pontificem Romanum, adiecta pœna capitali in eos qui diuersum sentirent. Ad quæ hoc Responi velim habeant. Non meminj me quicquam tale,

62 iudicio]

64 Debeo &c] on f 810 r

67 Alioquj] corrected from Alioqujn

76 me] added in right margin

82 seruatores] corrected from saluatorem

Expos.,
514
cont.

quod Domino ^(Ordo)
(85)

Secretario Regis ac uenerabili Maiestatis illius consilio, rogatus quae mea esset de hoc edicto sententia, nihil aliud uoluerim respondere, quam me iam mundo mortuum esse, nec istiusmodi negocijs amplius sollicitari, sed tantum meditari in passione Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

Dico (91)

me per istam uestram constitutionem ob hoc silentium non posse damnari capitis, eo quod nec uestrum edictum, nec ullae leges mundi possunt quenquam ob silentium addicere morti, sed tantum ob dictum aut perpetratum facinus. *De occultis enim solus iudicat Deus.* (97)

Ad haec respondit

Procurator Regius interpellans : At tale silentium, inquit, euident argumentum est animi male sentientis de iam dicta constitutione. Nam (99) omnis subditus syncerus ac fidelis Regiae Maiestati, *si de dicta constitutione in* ⁵¹⁵ *interrogetur, tenetur & obligatur citra omnem dissimulationem respondere categorice* : Regium edictum esse bonum, iustum ac sanctum. Ad quae Morus : Si uerum est quod habetur in legibus, eum qui tacet (103) uideri consentire, meum silentium confirmauit potius uestram constitutionem quam improbauit. Iam quod dicis, omnem subditum fidelem obli- (106) gari ut respondeat *categorice si interrogetur, &c.* Respondeo, bonae fidei subditum magis obligatum esse Deo, conscientiae & animae suae, quam ulli alij rei in hoc mundo, maxime si talis conscientia, qualis est mea, nihil offendiculi, nihil seditionis pariat domino suo. *Nam illud pro certo uobis affirmo, quod nulli mortalium unquam detexerim hac in re conscientiam meam.*

Venio nunc ad secundum accusationis caput, quo (116)

- 88 quale volunt respondisse ; fateor, dum in carcere vincto michi, quidnam de eo decreto videretur, proponeretur, respondi nichil tale amplius ad me pertinere, quia velut mundo mortuus essem, vtpote ad carcerem perhennem addictus, eoque magis quæ alterius vitæ, quam quæ huius
90 essent, meditari debere.

Nichil autem præterea meminij ab ore meo profectum. Quid autem commeretur poenæ, qui tacet, nec probat, nec improbat? Leges autem et edicta alia principum, quæ firmitatem modo habeant iuditio sapientum, fere capitibus
95 poenam non sanciunt, nisi ob aliquod male aut dictum aut factum. Quid autem tale a me profectum est?

- Ad quæ procurator regius : Jmo vero More, inquit, tuum istud silentium animum prorsus improbum et contumacem arguit. Non est autem officiosi hominis, quæ ad
100 principis sui honorem decernuntur, præsertim a tam celebri concilio, cui tot prudentes et omnis generis eruditi intersunt, strophis et fucis tacite damnare; sed constantij prædicatione probare, ac rata habere. Ad quæ Morus : Profecto, si quod iura habent, qui tacet consentire videtur, ipso illo
105 meo silentio potius comprobaui decretum Concilij quam damnaui. Porro quod dicis, officiosi hominis esse, quæ ad honorem principis decernuntur, approbare debere vt æqua et rationij consentanea ; an hoc in decreto isto locum habeat vos videritis. Ego vero ingenuj hominis, qui suum
110 sibi in principem constare officium velit, esse arbitror profiterij apud eum quod veritas habeat, et quo pietas sanaque religio non violetur, quæ denique ad salutem eius pertineant, non autem quæ materiam seditionis et armorum afferant, et fortassis in causa sint vt nobilissimum regnum
115 semel euertatur funditus ; quod periculum in re præsentij vertj, quis sanus non videat? Sed pergo ad reliqua.

88 perhennem]

96 profectum] before it is erased profectu

97 Ad quæ &c] on f 310 v

102 tacite] before it a word (probably taute) is erased

110 arbitror] first r inserted afterwards

arguor contra dictam constitutionem molitus ac machinatus fuisse, eo quod ad Roffensem scripserim octo paria epistolarum, quibus illum animarim aduersus istud edictum. Equidem uehementer optarim eas (120) epistolas hic proferri ac recitari, quae me uel conuincerent uel liberarent. Ceterum *quando illae, quemadmodum praedicatis, per Episcopum exustae sunt, ipse non grauabor recitare sententiam earum.* In earum quibusdam (128) agebatur de nostris priuatis negocijs, pro uetere nostra amicitia ac familiaritate.

In una quadam continebatur responsum ad Episcopi literas, (127) quibus scire cupiebat, quid & quo pacto respondissem de ista constitutione. Ad id nihil aliud rescipsi, nisi me iam meam composuisse (130) scientiam, ipse componeret suam. Animae meae periculo, ac teste Deo (138) uobis asseuero, nihil aliud in illis literis a me scriptum fuisse. Harum igitur caussa non possum per uestram constitutionem addici morti. (134)

Superest tertius articulus, qui intendit, quod quum de uestra constitutione ¹⁾ examinarer, dixerim eam esse similem gladio utrinque secanti, (138) propterea quod si quis uellet eam seruare, perderet animam : si contradicere, perderet corpus. Idem quoniam, ut dicitis, respondit Episcopus (141) Roffensis, perspicuum esse inter nos fuisse conspiracyem.

Ad hæc respondeo, me (144) nunquam fuisse loquutum, nisi conditionaliter :

1) Constitutione] the copy has constitutioue

Obijcitis ad hæc, datis literis non paucis ad virum eximium Joannem Episcopum Roffensem, multa aduersus modo dictum decretum molitum esse, modumque multiplicem monstrasse quo refringi possit. Profecto velim magno, 120 eæ literæ ad vnum omnes, his palam omnibus legerentur. Non crediderim ex eis quicquam auditum iri, quod vllo pacto fraudi esse posset. Quædam habebant de rebus quotidianis de quibus amjej inter se, amicitia fouendæ gratia 125 familiariter scribere solent; nichil autem quod vllo modo aut honorem cuiuspiam, aut existimationem contingeret. Vna aliarum responsionem habebat ad quandam eius ad me missam epistolam, qua certior fieri cupiebat, quidnam in vinculis rogatus de hoc ipso decreto, dum primum de 130 me quæstio haberetur, respondiissem. Cuj tum rescripsi, ea de re statuissse me, quod iuditio meo, æquius videretur, hortatus simul vt eundem ad modum, etiam ipse de ea statueret. Ausim deierare per quicquid vspiam sacrum est, eas literas non alia vlla habuisse. Atqui quid hic dignum capite? Si rescripsissem aperte decretum ipsum iniquum esse, 135 causam fortassis haberetis sæuiendi. Nunc quid peccaui scribens, statuissse me ea de re, quod iudicio meo æquius videretur? Nam quod obijcitis dixisse, ipsum decretum tanquam gladium esse ancipitem, ita vt quisquis ipsum 140 approbauerit, exitium animæ sibi accersiturus sit; quisquis improbauerit, exitium corporis; Et in eandem omnino sententiam locutum esse Episcopum Roffensem: itaque ad liquidum constare, vtrumque nostrum idem ex composito de decreto sentire Fateor, aliquid tale dixi, sed non 145 quemadmodum vos intenditis; verum sub conditione, ad

117 Obijcitis] four last letters corrected

128 esse] corrected from esset

124 amjej] corrected from inter

126 contingeret] corrected from contingerent

127 eius] added over line

129 de] after it hoc is erased

130 respondiissem] respon- on f 810 v; under it is the catchword dissem, in quam which two last words are erased

130 -dissem &c] on f 811 r

131 æquius] corrected from æquus

136 fortassis] -sis smudged and rewritten

144 Fateor] ms ffateor

Expos.
516
cont. sic uidelicet, si tale esset edictum, qualis est gladius utrinque incidens, ^(Ordo)
quo pacto posset quis euitare, quin in alterum incideret periculum. ⁽¹⁴⁶⁾
Haec mea fuit oratio. Quomodo responderit Episcopus, nescio : si illius
oratio cum mea congruebat, id nequaquam accidit ex conspiratione,

sed potius ex ingeniorum ac ⁽¹⁵⁵⁾
doctrinae similitudine. Breuiter illud pro certo habetote, me nunquam
quicquam maliciose fuisse loquutum aduersus uestram constitutionem :
at fieri potuit, ut ad benignam Regis clementiam aliquid malitiose ⁽¹⁵⁷⁾
fuerit delatum.

Post haec uocati sunt per quendam ex ostiarijs, duodecim uiri, iuxta ⁽¹⁶⁵⁾
gentis illius consuetudinem, quibus traditi sunt articuli, ut super illis
consultarent, ac post consultationem iudicarent, ac pronunciarent,
utrum THOMAS MORVS malitiose obstitisset praedictae constitutioni ⁽¹⁶⁵⁾
Regis, an non.

517 Qui quum | per horae quartam partem secessissent,
reuersi sunt ad principes ac iudices delegatos, ac pronunciarunt Killin,
hoc est, dignus est morte. Ac mox per D. Cancellarium lata est sententia ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾
iuxta tenorem nouae constitutionis. His ita peractis Thomas Morus hunc
in modum orsus est loqui : ⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

Age, quando sum condemnatus,
quo iure Deus nouit, ad exonerandam conscientiam uolo liberius eloqui

hunc modum si tale aliquod decretum tanquam gladius
 anceps esset : qua ergo ratione quis caueat, quin in alteram
 eius aciem necessario incurrat ? In quam autem senten-
 tiam Roffensis rogatus responderit, me profecto latet. Si est
 150 vt in eam ipsam plane responderit in quam ego, non hoc
 de composito factum est, sicuti intenditis, quasi ita inter
 nos per mutuas literas conuenerit ; sed forte fortuna, vt
 sæpe alias accidit, quia eædem rationes vtrumque per-
 mouerunt. Et vt semel omnia dicam : non crediderim me
 155 vnquam aduersus hoc vestrum decretum neque locutum
 esse, neque fecisse quicquam, quod vir æquus vlllo pacto in
 malam partem iudicet. Quid maleuoli et sycophantæ ad
 principes deferant, nemo cauere potest, ne cautissimus
 quidem. Obtrectatores cum vbique hominibus candidis insi-
 160 dianur, præsertim aliqua dignitate præstantibus, tum
 vero in aulis principum.

His verbis habitis et alijs plerisque eodem spectantibus,
 ostiarius quispiam ex autoritate regia, pro more Luteciæ
 usurpato duodecim viros conuocat, pronuntiuros ex
 165 auditis, num quid Morus contra modo dictum decretum
 admisisset. Hij secedentes ad quartam horæ partem,
 inter se consultant. Mox redeuntes ad regnj proceres et
 iudices, ad hoc designatos, quid definissent deferunt ; qui
 deinde hominem condemnarunt. Quam sententiam ipse
 170 Cancellarius per se propalam enunciauit.

Tum vero Morus, quia spes omnis vitæ præcisa esset,
 et dissimulatio nulla amplius profutura, vt viro forti
 dignum fuit, ad populum circumstantem, in hæc verba
 exorsus est : Hactenus quidem spectatores optimj quot-
 175 quot adestis, consulto ad quædam tectius respondi, satis
 scilicet esse ratus pro tempore ipso silentio quid sentirem
 significare. Nunc vero quoniam sum morti addictus, —
 quo iure, illi viderint, qui authores fuere, — res omnino

156 vir] corrected over vt crossed off

157 Quid] ms ; probably read Quin

162 plerisque &c] on f 811 v

174 optimj] -mj corrected

*Expos.*⁵¹⁷ quod sentio de uestra constitutione. Primum illud dico, me septem annis ^(Ordo)
cont. intendisse animum studiumque meum in istam causam, ⁽¹⁷⁹⁾

uerum hactenus in nullo doc-⁽¹⁸⁸⁾
 torum ab Ecclesia probatorum reperi scriptum, quod Laicus, aut ut
 uocant, secularis, possit aut debeat esse caput status spiritualis aut
 ecclesiastici. Hic Cancellarius interrumpens Mori sermonem, Domine ⁽¹⁸⁷⁾
 More, inquit, ita ne tu uis haberi sapientior, meliorisque conscientiae
 omnibus Episcopis, tota nobilitate, toto denique regno ?

Ad quae Morus, ⁽¹⁹¹⁾

Domine, inquit, Cancellarie,

pro uno Episcopo quem habes ⁽¹⁹⁸⁾
 tuae opinionis, ego sanctos & orthodoxos uiros habeo plures centum,
 mecum sentientes, & pro unico uestro concilio, *quod quale sit Deus nouit*, ⁽¹⁹⁵⁾
 pro me habeo omnia Concilia generalia annis abhinc mille celebrata : ⁽¹⁹⁷⁾
 & pro uno regno, habeo Franciam caeteraque orbis Christiani regna ⁽¹⁹⁹⁾
 omnia.

Hic dux Nortfordij interpellans : Nunc More, inquit, perspicue
 liquet tua maleuolentia. Ad quae Morus, * *Milordt (sic Angli compellant* ⁽²⁰¹⁾
insigni dignitate praestantes) ut hoc loquar non incitat maleuolentia,
 sed cogit necessitas ad exonerandam conscientiam meam, teste Deo,
 518 qui | solus scrutatur corda hominum.

Praeterea dico & illud, consti- ⁽²⁰⁴⁾
 tutionem uestram esse perperam factam, eo quod uos professi estis,
 & iureiurando uosmetipsos obstrinxistis, nihil unquam molituros ad- ⁽²¹⁰⁾
 uersus sanctam Ecclesiam, quae per uniuersam ditionem Christianam
 unica est, integra & indiuidua, neque uos soli ullam habetis autorita-

postulat, vt priusquam discedam, sine ambage vobis
 180 expromam quid de decreto Concilij sentiam.

Profiteor ingenue, palam vobis omnibus, septem amplius annos esse, quibus in studio huiusmodi rerum diligentissime versatus sum. At in nullo loco literarum, neque diuinarum neque humanarum nec in scriptis vllius probati authoris comperisse, fas esse, princeps prorsus prophanus, caput sit alicuius Ecclesiæ aut Ecclesiasticorum. Volentem plura dicere Cancellarius interpellauit : More, inquires, nimium tibi arrogas. Plus sapere, magis etiam pius esse viderj vis, quam vniuersi Episcopi, quam vniuersa nobilitas, quam vniuersi denique populares regnj. Ad quæ Morus : An protinus vniuersi Episcopi vobiscum sentiunt, quia vnus omnino vobiscum sentit ? Si vnum produxeris vestræ sententiæ, equidem plures sexcentis producere possem, sententiæ meæ. Ac aduersus vnum
 195 concilium regium, obijcio Concilia omnia vniuersalia, quotquot iam inde a mille annis fuere, quorum ne vnum quidem vestræ isti impietatj subscripsit. Aduersus denique vnum regnum Angliæ, obijcio regnum Franciæ, et omnia regna totius orbis christianj. Tum Dux Noirfordius : Nunc
 200 demum plane animj tuj hactenus bene dissimilata proteruia liquet More. Ad quæ ille : Profecto vt hæc sic sine cicuitione proferam, ipsa me pietas mouet et religio. Nolim enim quispiam arbitretur, quod aliquandiu siluerim, id fuisse quia insanix vestræ astipularer. Testis is sit, cui
 205 omnes humanj cordis recessus intime cogniti sunt, Deus Optimus Maximus. Atque adeo rursus constanter assero, vel ob id decretum istud vestrum impium esse, quia ex diametro pugnet, cum eo iureiurando, quo vos Deo Optimo in baptismo obstrinxistis. Tum iurastis in vnam sanctam
 210 Ecclesiam Catholicam, que ex vniuersis christianis, sparsim per orbem incolentibus constat, vos nichil vnquam

195 obijcio &c] on f 812 r

198 Franciæ] ms ffranciæ

202 cicuitione]

206 rursus] corrected from nus (?)

Expos. 518 tem citra aliorum Christianorum consensum condendi legem, aut in- (Ordo)
cont. stituendi concilium aduersus unionem & concordiam Christianitatis. (212)

Nec me fugit, quam ob (221)
 rem a uobis condemnatus sim, uidelicet ob id, quod nunquam uoluerim
 assentire in negotio noui matrimonij Regis.

Confido autem de diuina (237)
 bonitate ac misericordia, fore ut

quemadmodum olim (242)
 Paulus Stephanum persecutus est usque ad mortem, & tamen iidem
 nunc unanimes sunt in coelo, ita nos qui nunc discordes sumus in hoc

molituros, nichil commenturos quod vlllo pacto communio-
nem eius et societatem queat dirimere. Quid autem aliud,
istud vestrum decretum quam societatem hanc dirimit, et
215 Ecclesiam nostram Anglicanam, diuulsam a reliquis ec-
clesiæ catholicæ membris, per se singulatim subsistere
postulat, cum Ecclesia catholica vna sit, indiuidua, indissep-
parabilis, Ecclesias denique omnes particulares veluti
membra per vnā fidem et religionem sibi conglutinas
220 habens.

Sed facile diuino quid potissimum sit, cur morte plec-
tar. Nolo videlicet in nuptias regias assentirj. At quid ibi
culpæ commertum? Noluit et Joannes baptista in aliquid
tale assentiri, summa libertate Herodem insectans, quia
225 Philippi fratris vxorem haberet, marito superstitute. Num
quid discriminis esse putatis siue vir alteram vxorem
superduxerit, priore superstitute, siue fœmina alterj marito
nubat priore superstitute? Ceterum mortem meam minimj
facio, maximj vtique facturus, si ob flagitium aliquod meum,
230 ob perfidiam in principem, aut oppressionem miserorum aut
peculatum, aut male gestam præfecturam dicendi iuris,
quæ mandata fuit, moriendum esset. Nunc vero morior
quia pietatem, quia religionem, quia sententiam Eccle-
siæ catholicæ tueor, quia denique incestas nuptias probare
235 recuso: quam mortem, tantum abest vt detrectem veluti
pudendam, vt subire et michi et meis omnibus summæ
etiam gloriæ ducam. Spero autem fore, benignitate Dei,
quamuis regia maiestas, siue per affectus nonnichil hallu-
cinans, siue imposturis adulatorum, aliquantum a vero
240 abducta, nunc ad tempus mecum dissideat, tamen postea
aliquando veritate melius perspecta, mecum sentiat, et
quemadmodum Saulus aliquando errans, nunc cum Ste-
phano coelesti paradiso fruitur, ita summa tum charitate

212 commenturos]

226 alteram &c] on f 812 v

229 vtique] corrected over itaque crossed off

233 sententiam]

Expos.
518 *cont.* mundo, in futuro seculo pariter simus concordēs, & perfecta charitate *(Ordo)*
unanimēs. Hac spe fretus precor Deum * *ut uos seruet una cum Rege,*
eique dare dignetur bonos consultores. His ita peractis, THOMAS MORVS *(247)*
reductus est in Turrim. * *Hic obiter accidit spectaculum ipsa condemna-*
tione miserabilius. Margareta filiarum Mori * *natu maxima, mulier praeter* *(249)*
eximiam formae uenustatem cum summa dignitate coniunctam, iudicio,
ingenio, moribus & eruditione patris simillima, per mediam populi *(252)*
turbam, perque satellitum arma semet iniecit, & ad parentem penetrauit.
Quum & mulier esset, & natura cum primis uerecunda, tamen & metum
519 & pudorem omnem excusserat * *impotens animi dolor, cum | audisset*
patrem in Curia morti addictum esse. Hoc accidit priusquam Morus arcis
portam ingrederetur. Ibi in charissimi parentis collum irruens, arctissimo *(255)*
complexu aliquandiu tenuit eum. Caeterum ne uerbum quidem interim
potuit proloqui. * *Curae, inquit Tragicus, leues loquuntur, ingentes*
stupent. * *Mouit stipatores tametsi duos hoc spectaculum.* Horum itaque
permissu Morus his uerbis consolatus est filiam : Margareta, patienter *(259)*
feras, nec te discrucies amplius. Sic est uoluntas Dei. Iam pridem nosti
secreta cordis mei : * *simulque dedit osculum ex consuetudine gentis, si*
quem dimittunt. At illa cum digressa esset ad decem uel duodecim passus,
denuo recurrit, & amplexa parentem rursus inhaesit collo illius, sed elinguis
prae doloris magnitudine. Cui pater nihil loquutus est, * *tantum erumpe-*
bant lachrymae, uultu tamen a constantia nihil dimoto. Nec aliud supremis *(265)*
uerbis mandauit, quam ut Deum pro anima patris deprecaretur. * *Ad*
hoc pietatis certamen plurimis e populari turba lachrymae excidere. Erant
& inter satellites, ferum & immite genus hominum, qui lachrymas tenere
non potuerunt. Nec mirum, quum pietatis affectus adeo ualida res sit, ut
immitissimus etiam feras moueat. Hic apud se quisque reputet quam ualido
ariete tum pulsatum sit Thomae Mori pectus. Erat enim erga suos omnes
adeo φιλόστοργος, ut non alius magis. sed eam filium ut erat eximijs prae-
dita dotibus, ita diligebat impensius. Morum fortiter exceperisse sententiam
mortis, aut etiam carnificis securim, minus admirandum existimo, quam
520 pietatem erga suos potuisse uincere. Nihil enim addu|bito, quin hic doloris
gladius crudelius uulnerauit Mori praecordia, quam illa carnificis securis
quae collum amputauit.

Die Mercurij sequente, hoc est, septimo die Iulij productus est in *(271)*
pluniciem, quae est ante arcem. * *Mos est illic ut afficiendi supplicio, de*
ponte plebem alloquantur. At Morus paucissimis uerbis est usus, tantum
orans qui aderant, ut pro ipso Deum orarent in hoc mundo, se uicissim
in altero mundo precaturum pro ipsis. Mox

tum benevolentia iuncta michi eadem mecum felicitate
 245 fruitura sit. Tantum seruator Christus, eam incolumem
 seruet, et salubri consilio vti faciat.

Deinde inter numerosam manum stipatorum, ad turrim
 quandam magnam ducitur, opinor eam, qua fortassis
 vltimam poenam meriti asseruantur. Interea vna filiarum
 250 eius, cui nomen Margaretæ, ducta incredibili desiderio
 amplectendi parentem, iamiam nunquam in posterum sibi
 videndum, quanto impetu potuit, postposito pudore foe-
 mineo, postposito decoro personæ, quæ omnia flagrans
 amor vicit, per mediam stipatorum cateruam, ad eum
 255 prorupit, et in virj collum assiliens arctissimo complexu,
 aliquandiu remorata est; interim ritu fontis manantibus
 lachrimis, sed nulla edita voce, quia dolore interclusus
 spiritus, eam suppresserat. Ad quam permissu satellitum,
 consolandi gratia pater: Mea Margareta inquit, non est
 260 quod crucieris; temperes dolorj. Ita visum est superis.
 Jam olim arcanorum meorum particeps in hanc semper
 sortem armatum sciuitj. Mox impetu turbæ ad decem
 aut duodecim passus retroacta, rursus accedit iterum si
 posset, patrem amplexura. Verum ille ne vnum quidem
 265 verbum amplius ad eam, præter hoc vnum, obsecraret
 Dominum pro salute sua, idque ea animj constantia, ea
 firmitate, vt ne vnam quidem lachrimulam miserit, nec
 vllas omnino in vultu perturbati animj notas ediderit.
 Diceres moriturum Senecam ad Paulinam vxorem verba
 270 facere.

Quarta autem eius septimanæ insequente, pro turrj illa
 magna modo dicta, in aream quandam deducitur, vbi pos-
 teaquam summo affectu, spectatores obsecrasset, essent sui
 memores in precibus apud Deum in præsentī, se vicissim
 275 eorum fore memorem in futurum; et deinde toto pectore

244 mecum] *after it was written & erased fruituræ*

248 qua] *after it a word was started and then erased (possibly fort-)*

258 Ad quem &c] *on f 813 r*

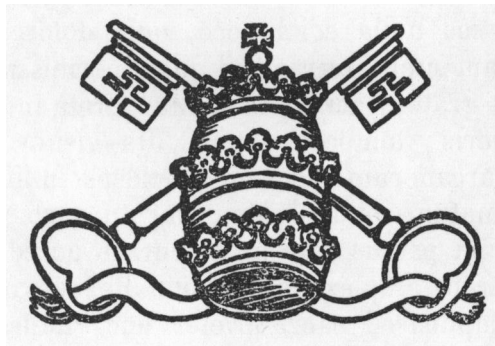
263 rursus accedit] *added in left margin*

268 notas] *corrected from gnotas*

271 Quarta] *probably add feria*

Expos.,
520
cont.

hortabatur atque instanter rogabat, (*Ordo*)
(276)
orarent Deum pro Rege, ut illi dignaretur impertire bonum consilium,
contestans se mori fidelem ac bonum Regis ministrum, ac Dei in primis.
* *Haec loquutus prompte constantique uultu flexis genibus ceruicem posuit*
*securim excepturus, * non sine graui multorum gemitu. * Erat enim bonis* (280)
omnibus charissimus.



regiam maiestatem commendasset, orarent diuinam benignitatem, largiretur ei omnia salutaria, et præsertim sana sectari consilia; testatus se eius beneuolentissimum ministrum mori velle, sed maxime Dei Optimj Maximj, 280 securi cæditur.

Non dubium si quid homines coniectare possumus, a morte ad immortalitatem demigrans, vir tum innocentia, tum literatura iam inde ab annis plus minus triginta orbe toto celeberrimus. Libet autem exclamare tale quiddam 285 quale trucidato Cicerone, Paterculus in Antonium exclamat: Nichil egisti Tyranne, nichil egistj. Rapuisti Moro lucem sollicitam, et ætatem senilem breui alioqui occasuram, etiam te manum abstinente; famam vero gloriamque virtutum, et præsertim huius nunquam satis prædicandæ constantiæ, huius religionis et in vnum Deum optimum fidei: tantum abest vt abstuleris, vt plurimum etiam auxieris. Viuit, viuetque per hæc in secula. Dumque Britannicæ regnum, in quo summa continentia, parique æquitate ius dixit, et eruditissimis scriptorum monumentis 290 floruit, stabit incolume, manens secum præconium Morj trahet: Omnisque posteritas, illius in te studium, verumque amorem admirabitur, tuum in eum flagitium immane execrabitur.

288 triginta] -inta corrected

285 in] made indistinct by corrections to the right and underneath

285 Antouium] before it antonium was written and erased

286 Tyranne] the word is underlined, and over it is written Princeps optime by a later hand

286 Moro] corrected by sign pointing to the left margin: Roffensi et Moro (in later hand)

292 auxieris]

292 Viuit viuetque] corrected into Viuunt viuentque (in later hand)

292 per hæc &c] on f 813 v

295 manens] in right hand margin, added afterwards and Manens, written on the next line, was crossed off.

C. NOTES

1. Thomas &c] In the *Expositio* Erasmus adds some prefatory lines to announce More's death and to indicate his sources : ' partim e schedis Gallice scriptis, quae hic circumferuntur desumpsi, partim e rumoribus. Nam nihil horum uidi ' : *Expos.*, 511. He then describes London, mentioning the Tower as More's prison, and Westminster Hall, serving as Court of Justice; those places are situated on the riverside, and people generally go from one to the other by the ' silent highway ', the river, in state barges, in boats or in wherries, which watermen offer for hire at the public stairs crying : Westward Hoe ! or : Eastward Hoe ! — *Expos.*, 511-12; cp. Entick, I, 78-85, IV, 336, *sq*, 420, *sq*; *ShakEngl.*, II, 154, *sq*; Platter, 17.
3. carceris] the expenses due for More's imprisonment in the Tower are indicated in *LPH8*, VIII, 1001, 4; the family had to pay for his food and his servant, for which Mrs. More had to sell some of her wardrobe: cp. before, p. 17.
4. decimum quintum... mensem] *Expos.*, 511 : multis mensibus... captivus; cp. l 70. The *Expositio* does not mention here that More was sentenced for lifelong imprisonment : *Expos.*, 512. The *Lyfe of Fysher*, based on Rastell's second extract of the *Lyfe of More*, calls iniquitous More's and Fisher's imprisonment during six months and ' quod excurrit ' before the Act of Succession was decreed with the retroactive power that made their confinement ' rightfull ' : Ortroy, 285-87, 401. More had been subjected to trials long before June 1, 1535; already in April 1534, he had been questioned as results from his letter to Margaret Roper : MoreW, 1428, 1452; Ortroy, 33, 276, 279-81; *LPH8*, VII, 502 (April 17, 1534). Fisher's trial and execution is related in the manuscript *Lyfe* and its Latin translation : Ortroy, 421-423; SandOrig², 130, *sq*; *LPH8*, VIII, pp. xxxiii-xxxviii; Blunt, I, 419, *sq*; Froude, II, 201, *sq*; the influence which his appointment as Cardinal had on his fate is referred to in Goclenius' letter, August 10, 1535 (before, p. 24),

LONDON

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OF SIR THOMAS MORE



from which, no doubt, Erasmus retailed it to Barth. Latomus on Aug. 24, 1535, and to Peter Tomiczki, on August 31, 1535 : EE, 1509, c, d, 1513, c. Cp. Stapleton, 62-3, 97, 293, *sq*; Ortroy, 33, 312; Pastor, V, 101-2, 680-81; Chambers, 330; *Expos.*, 522-23; &c.

5. in *fiscum &c*] no reference is made in the *Expositio* to More's goods being seized, except at the place representing *l* 71; on Aug. 24, 1535, however, Erasmus knew of it, since he wrote to Barth. Latomus : 'Morum esse in carcere, facultatibus in regium fiscum redactis' : EE, 1509, d. Already on November 3, 1534 (26 Henry VIII), an Act of Parliament was made 'by sinister and corrupte meanes', says Rastell, particularly against Sir Thomas More 'to condemne hym of mysprision and so to forfeite his lands, y^t y^e king had gyuen hym, whiche was not paste till a yere' : 2nd Extract from the *Lyfe of More*, in Ortroy, 401; cp. before, p. 17. On July 24, 1535, Richard Rich, Solicitor-General, — and Chancellor in 1548, — who had played a treacherous part in the trial of the Martyrs (Ortroy, 324), wrote to Henry VIII to tell him that the Duke of Suffolk wished to obtain More's ground and lands : *LPH*8, viii, 1101. By an Act of Parliament of February 4, 1536, the deed of feoffment by Sir Thomas More was annulled, and on April 28 the King granted his house at Chelsea along with the estate to Sir William Poulet : *LPH*8, x, 243, 732; in July 1538 the French ambassador Castillon is said to have lodged there. It is also said that the King granted the manor of South, in Kent, to Anne Boleyn's brother George, Lord of Rochford, who sued for it, and that Henry Norris, too, got part of the spoil : Constant, 146, 524-25; *ErasLaur.*, I, 666; Jusserand, 154-55. In 1549 the Wanstead estate, in Wessex, formerly the property of More's son-in-law Giles Heron, husband of Cecily, was given to Lord Rich : Jones, 158.

9. *sistitur*] Cromwell having made in June 1535 a statement on the lawsuit conducted against More, Henry VIII accused him on June 25, as well as Fisher, of treason, and issued an order for aproclamation in the churches : *LPH*8, viii, 892, 921. On June 28 the lawsuit was ordered, and on July 1, the trial was started; Sir

Thomas More was led to the bar by Sir Edmond Walsingham, Lieutenant of Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower : *LPH8*, VIII, 938, 974. — Erasmus relates in the *Expositio* that More walked the long way from the Tower to Westminster Hall leaning on a stick, although in the introductory lines he mentions that the usual way from one place to another was by boat on the Thames : *Expos.*, 512. — More's trial and execution is described in *LPH8*, VIII, pp. xxxvii-xxxix (and the distress it caused to Queen Catherine, p. xl); *SandOrig*¹, 131-32, 137, sq; *SandOrig*², 156, sq; Gairdner, 159-160; Froude, II, 201, sq, 269-76; Strype, I, 320, sq; Blunt, I, 418, sq, 423, sq; Bémont, 113, sq, 117-118; Constant, 143-51, 525-33; Chambers, 335, sq.

11. publicata] *Expos.*, 512, says that the articles of accusation were read out.

11. proceres regni et praesertim Dux Noirfordius] the *Expositio* only mentions 'Cancellarius qui Moro successit, ac dux Nortfordij' : *Expos.*, 512. The Chancellor who succeeded More, and received as present from him his state barge (Chambers, 283), was Sir Thomas Audley (1488-1544), who in 1529 had taken his place as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and as Speaker in the House of Commons; in 1533 he sanctioned Henry VIII's divorce : *DNB*; Ortrov, 238; *SandOrig*², 89; Chambers, 297, sq, 307, sq, 328, 335-42. — The 'Dux Noirfordius', as the *Ordo*, or 'Nortfordij' as the *Expositio* calls him ¹), is evidently the earl-marshal Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and Duke of Norfolk (1473-1554); he had given undubitable proofs of high esteem and hearty friendship to More; in March 1534 he had even warned the ex-Chancellor that 'indignatio principis mors est'; he humoured Henry VIII, and yet escaped execution only by the King's own decease : *DNB*; Chambers, 239-40, 283-84, 300, 335, sq.

12-27. alloquitur &c] in *Expos.*, 512-13, only a summary is given of the speeches which are attributed to Audley and Norfolk.

¹) The *Récit* calls him 'duc de Norfort', the *Beschreibung*, 'Nordfordt' in the *Opera Omnia* of Erasmus, 1708, the name is corrected into 'Dux Nortfolcii' : EE, 1764, A.

12. Thoma More] *Expos.*, 512 : Magister More (sic appellat mediocri dignitate praeditos) — an alteration with the explanation of the title of 'Master' added in the second *Expositio*.
13. tergiuersaris &c] More had been sorely tempted by the dread of the misery in which his condemnation was sure to plunge his family : SandOrig¹, 80 r ; cp. before, pp. 16-17.
- 27-36. Ad quae... respondeat] More's reply is rendered much shorter in *Expos.*, 513.
- 37-40. Petunt... criminetur] the interruption is dropped in *Expos.*, 513, and More continues his speech mentioning his weakness.
- 41-46. Ad quod... fecit] this passage is expanded in the *Expositio* : still where in the *Ordo* Morus pleads that, weak and broken, he may not be able to deliver a long oration, the *Expositio* makes him say that he lacks *ingenium*, and *memory*, and *oratio*, which does not at all lead up to the necessity of a chair. Moreover it is expressly explained what the chair is to be used for : 'sella in qua sederet'.
44. Jussa] *Expos.*, 513 : iussu Iudicium.
- 46-55. Auditores... commodate] this passage is omitted from *Expos.*, 513.
56. Primum &c] from this word on, the text of *Expos.*, 513, is again parallel with that of the *Ordo*.
56. maliciose] the word *maliciose* was introduced into the bill imposing the acceptance of the Act of Supremacy, on account of the opposition it encountered in the Lower House : it was understood that 'not every speaking against the Supremacy would be treason, but only 'speaking maliciously'. On that account the word was introduced twice into the Act. Still Robert Fisher, when announcing to his brother in the Tower the insertion of that proviso into the law, already expressed his doubts as to whether those who had to see it applied, would take it in that obvious sense. It was fully argued upon in the trial of Fisher and in that of the Carthusians, and mentioned in that of More ; but, as Rastell declared, 'y^e word MALICIOUSLY plainly expressed in y^e act, was adiudged by the king's commissioners, before whome they were arraigned, to be

- voyed' : 2nd Extract from the *Lyfe of More*, in Ortroi, 402, also 289-90, 319; Chambers, 320, 322-23, 332-33.
- 58-60. aduersabor &c] *Expos.*, 513, is far more cautelous : 'restitisse illius Serenissimae Maiestati'.
- 62-63. quod iudicio meo ad veritatem magis accederet] the *Expositio* is quite different here : 'ad hoc urgente me conscientia' : *Expos.*, 513; cp. notes to ll. 109-16, 131, 132-33, 179-80, 188-89, 202.
67. Alioquj &c] *Expos.*, 513, adds here : Nec hic est ulla proditio quae intenditur, quin potius ni id fecissem, praesertim in re tanti momenti, unde pendebat mea sententia, & principis honos, & regni tranquillitas, — an idea which *Ordo* expresses further, ll 111-115.
70. quindecim... menses] cp. note to l 4; More was imprisoned at Westminster on April 13, and in the Tower on April 17, 1534.
71. ad euersionem omnium fortunarum descendissem] *Expos.*, 214 : exutus omnibus facultatibus meis. — The wording of the *Expositio* merely indicates that More has been deprived of his estate, whereas the *Ordo* states that he himself did knowingly what caused the downfall of his worldly fortune : cp. before pp. 16-17, and l 5, n.
75. transeo ad aliud quod praecipuum esse volunt] different is the wording of *Expos.*, 514 : ad ea respondebo quae sunt huius negocij praecipua.
79. suffragijs omnium qui interfuerunt] not mentioned in *Expos.*, 514.
86. proponeretur] in the *Expositio* More is questioned on the subject by, and he answers to, 'Domino Secretario Regis ac venerabili Maiestatis illius consilio' : *Expos.*, 514, — namely Cromwell, who on May 7 tried in vain to make him speak out his mind about the King's second marriage and his Supremacy, and who received as answer what is stated here, that More thought he had better think of his death and salvation : Chambers, 336; cp. note to ll 157-161.
90. meditari] cp. Chambers, 336. — *Expos.*, 514, specifies : 'in passione Domini nostri Iesu Christi', alluding to the unfinished book he wrote in prison : MoreW, 1270, sq : *A Treatise vpon the Passion of Chryste*.
92. qui tacet &c] this reply explains the apparent lack of

consistency in More, who hated heresy wholeheartedly for being an untruth ¹⁾; who as Chancellor punished heretics ²⁾, and yet pleads free from guilt on account of his silence, although he entirely differs in opinion from the King his master. The historians of the English Church have contrasted his persecutions with his humanism, with the liberal views and with the admirable spirit of tolerance he advocates in his *Utopia*. Walpole and Burnet suspect superstition; Froude and Creighton, bigotry; Lindsay and Sidney Lee, inconsistency; whereas others see in his life 'a bundle of contradictions': Chambers, 353-355. They are wrong, for it is quite consistent that More should dislike heretics, and yet never molest them *as heretics*, if, namely, they keep their opinions to themselves, and do not communicate them to others. For that communicating of unbelief was then the first step to sedition, to revolt, to subversion amongst the people of a nation, — which, in those times, required respectful unity of religion as the foundation of peace and order, and made laws to protect it by all means: Froude, II, 480. Therefore, although ready to punish any heretic who was a danger to public order, More would only hate the man's error; he would not condemn him for it if he abstained from all subversive propaganda; still, by his love of truth, he would try to persuade him peacefully and charitably of his error: Sand-Orig², 131. The difference between a heretic as *an unbeliever* and as *an actual perturber of public order* was as material as that between actual robbery and the strong determination to rob; the determination is morally as bad as the action itself; yet it does not fall under any human law as long as the desire remains desire. That theory, which was accepted and practised by the Church in the Middle-ages, was advocated by More for heresy and heretics, and he wanted to benefit by it himself for the matter of the royal decree. To be

¹⁾ EE, 1857, B, 1760, A-B; SandOrig², 103, sq, 181, sq; Grisar, II, 195, 610, sq.

²⁾ EE, 1453, B, c; Ortroty, 398; AdriHöf., 366-68; Williams, 209; Chambers, 354-55, 366-67. Cp. p. 28.

sure, he considered that decree as wrong and unjust, but, as he abstained deliberately and carefully from expressing his opinion on the subject, he considered himself juridically safe from the heavy penalties with which it was enforced on the public, and claimed that safety in Court : Chambers, 366, 367; MoreW, 1454, c-E; cp. before pp. 18, 28. The prosecutors evidently felt the strength of his position : Fisher was tricked into communicating his opinion under pretence of the Kings' wish to have his advice *in foro conscientiae*, as a spiritual authority : Ortrov, 307-327. The King's messenger Richard Rich also tried to wheedle More into a confidential declaration of his opinion, but he failed : cp. note to ll 157-161. Yet at the trial he pretended that More had owed to him on June 12 his disagreement with the decree; but More called him outright a liar and a perjury in open court, and the two witnesses who had been suborned to second his accusation, could not but declare that they had not heard anything at all : cp. before, pp. 134-5; Roper, 87, sq; Ortrov, 324-325. It shows that More was right in entrenching himself into silence, whereas Fisher, at least at first, saw no danger in speaking against the King's views provided it was done without *malice*.

- 93-94. Leges autem et edicta alia principum, quae firmitatem modo habeant] represented in *Expos.*, 514, as : ' nec uestrum edictum, nec ullae leges mundi '.
- 96. Quid... est] *Expos.*, 514, has, instead : ' De occultis enim solus iudicat Deus', which seems irrelevant in the debate; cp. before, p. 124.
- 99. officiosi hominis] the parallel term in *Expos.*, 514, is : ' subditus syncerus ac fidelis Regiæ Maiestati ' ; cp. l 109 ; probably the English original had here ' dutifull ' : cp. before, p. 103.
- 100-102. præsertim... intersunt] not represented in *Expos.*, 514.
- 102-3. <est officiosi hominis> constant] prædicatione probare &c] in *Expos.*, 514-5 : omnis subditus... si... interrogetur, tenetur... respondere categorice : Regium edictum esse bonum, iustum ac sanctum ' : which evidently shows that Erasmus missed the point of the argument. The Procurator declares that when a decree is brought out, an obedient subject should not condemn it by

his silence, but should always talk of it approvingly ; More retorts that silence, according to the law, is equivalent to an approval, and thus apparently he approved of the decree. There is no question here of interrogations; cp. before, p. 124.

106-9. Porro quod... videritis] this sarcastic remark of More's, expressing his doubt about whether this decree which, as a dutiful subject, he is expected to approve of as just and reasonable, does actually bring any honour to the King, is left out from *Expos.*, 515, so that the argumentation, which in the *Ordo* is reaching for the highest pitch, is sagging and floundering into repetitions in the *Expositio*.

109-16. Ego vero... non videat] this most nervy and important passage of the *Ordo*, is represented in the *Expositio* by a mere repetition of statements already enounced. To the principle proposed by the Procurator-General that a dutiful subject should approve of what is decreed to the honour of his prince, More first remarks that his silence may be interpreted legally as an approval — Stapleton, 317; Strype *Cra.*, I, 21; and secondly leaves it to his contradictor to make out whether that what is decreed, is actually to the King's honour (II 104-109). He then goes further and declares thirdly that he considers it the duty of a straightforward man to tell his prince 1° what is the truth; 2° what neither harms piety nor sound religion; and finally 3° what conduces to his safety; — and not advise him what might cause seditions and wars, yea, might entail the complete ruin of the most noble realm (II 109-116). In fact, according to the policy which had been in force for centuries, the Pope could liberate subjects from their allegiance to their monarch, who thus lost all right to obedience when breaking with the Church; and the other princes of Christendom were bound to proceed with their forces against the offender in the name of right and justice. No doubt Henry VIII was aware of that danger : he took all necessary measures to prevent any rising, compelling the clergy to approve of all his measures, on one hand, and making it appear, on the other, as if the lead of affairs did not go out from him, but from Parliament. That council, which had hardly been consulted from 1512

to 1528, with just the exception of 1522, was made, from 1529, to take the responsibility of the royal despotism, on the naked form of which it was to put 'the drapery of representative rule': E. Sanderson, *History of England*: London, 1893: 414. Meanwhile a friendly intercourse was kept up with Francis I, who was both an ally of the Scotch King, and Charles V's antagonist. Still danger within and without constantly threatened the realm: risings might, and actually did, start; and notwithstanding his war with France and his trouble with the German Princes, the Emperor might be brought to revenge the dishonour of his Aunt and the onslaught on the unity of the Church: Pastor, IV, ii, 513; cp. before, p. 16. More knew that danger better than anybody; in his endeavour to avert the threatening ruin from his King and country, he lost his position and his freedom; at the bitterest hour of his sad plight he cannot help admonishing his judges, and he appeals to their common sense and foresight: 'quod periculum in re praesenti vertj, quis sanus non videat'? — Instead of the urgent warning for the impending danger referred to in the *Ordo* as prompted by truth, religion and the care for the safety of King and country, the *Expositio* has the humdrum remark that a good man should act according to the law of God and the intimations of his conscience, and it follows up that irrelevant statement by the strange assertion: especially if it is a conscience like mine; it makes More declare: 'bonae fidei subditum magis obligatum esse Deo, conscientiae & animae suae, quam ulli alij rei in hoc mundo, maxime si talis conscientia, qualis est mea, nihil offendiculi, nihil seditionis pariat domino suo': *Expos.*, 515; cp. before, p. 125. It is quite impossible to accept that declaration as Thomas More's: besides betraying a childish presumption, it constitutes a hideous begging of the question, and his judges would have rightly retorted that they just were gathered there to find out whether his conscience 'nihil offendiculi, nihil seditionis [peperisset] domino [suo]'. — The final remark which Thomas More is made to add, is equally illogic: 'illud pro certo vobis affirmo, quod nulli mortalium unquam detexerim hac in re conscien-

tiam meam¹. Indeed, no sensible man could give that as an answer to the charge of keeping silence about the King's assumed title of Head of the Anglican Church, even when asked for his opinion. Whereas the *Ordo* offers a correctly reasoned argument, enouncing the generous acceptance of the imperious duty toward the general welfare, the *Expositio* has only a repetition of lame and selfish protestations of innocence, which show that neither the sense nor the gist of the debate is understood. That follows from the statements, which prove the accusation instead of staving it off at any price, and from the use of words like *offendiculum* and *seditio*, which are natural in the reference to the results of the papal excommunication of a schismatic monarch, mentioned in the *Ordo*, 113-115, but are quite out of place in the connection between an affectionate and dutiful subject like More and his Liege Lord. — It clearly shows that the *Expositio* is here, as in many other places, a wrong rendering of an English original, which is faithfully translated by the *Ordo*, and from which at least one word, 'sedition', was taken over: *Ordo*, 113, *Expos.*, 515: 'nihil seditionis'. Cp. before, pp. 124-125. — The passage in the French text, which is somewhat shorter than that of the *Expositio*, reproduces the evidently inaccurate rendering of the Latin (*Harps.*, 261, 4-11), and so do the German and the Spanish translation, as well as Harpsfield's *Life*¹). It appears from a comparison of the texts that the French version was certainly made from the *Expositio*: the presumed text of the English original reproduced in the *Ordo*, 113, as: 'quae materiam seditionis et armorum afferant', can hardly have been taken as 'ne engendre scandalle ou sedition', as the *Récit* has²), except when

¹) *Beschreyb.*, A 2 v; at least one line has fallen out after *mein*: 'ein sollich gewissen wie das mein biss auff dise stund kainem lebendigen menschen geoffenbart'; cp. before, p. 47, n 6. — *Harps.*, 186. — Most probably the first *Expositio* had instead of the sentence of the second: 'Respondeo, bonae fidei subditum magis obligatum esse Deo, conscientiae' &c (*Expos.*, 515), one which mentioned 'quoad res ad conscientiam spectantes' and did not mention 'Deus', as results from the translations: *Beschreyb.*, A 2 v; *Harps.*, 186, 7-8, 261, 5-7.

²) *Harps.*, 261, 9: telle conscience... ne engendre scandalle ou sedition a son seigneur'. Harpsfield has here: 'the person geueth no occasion of

passing through the rendering 'nihil offendiculi, nihil seditionis pariat'; the English for *materia... armorum*, — possibly *trouble*, *difficulty*, or *obstacle* — suggested *offendiculum*, which then was translated as *scandalle* and *slaunder*: but it looks highly improbable that in the present sentence the French *scandalle* could have been rendered by *offendiculum*, viz., cause of a moral break-down, which sense the word regularly has in the writings of the Christian authors.

116. Sed pergo ad reliqua] in *Expos.*, 515: Venio nunc ad secundum accusationis caput, — no doubt an arrangement of the matter by Erasmus: cp. l 138.
117. datis literis non paucis] the *Expositio* precises: 'scripserim octo paria epistolarum'. That detail is a wrong translation of the English original text, where there must have been: 'eight pair of letters', an expression which means only 'eight missives'; cp. before, pp. 45, 125, sq. From the official documents it appears that the letters were carried by George Golde, servant of the Lieutenant of the Tower, who owned to twelve letters: *LPH*8, VIII, 856, 858, 867; Ortrov, 291-94; Chambers, 329-30, 337; the *Expos.*, 515, mentions that they were destroyed: at any rate they are not amongst those preserved in MoreW, 1428-1458; Ortrov, 33. In the first edition of *De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicanae*: Cologne, 1585, no mention is made of that accusation; in the second edition, Rome, 1586, reference is made to the letters, possibly on the authority of the *Expositio*: SandOrig¹, 81 v; SandOrig², 140: 'accusabant eum... quod ex ipso carcere, nonnulla ad Roffensem scripississet'... Cp. Harps., 359, 366-67.
121. legerentur.] the *Expositio*, 515, adds here, probably from friends' letters: 'quae me uel conuincerent uel liberarent. Caeterum quando illae, quemadmodum praedicatis, per Episcopum exustae sunt, ipse non grauabor recitare sententiam earum'. The acts of the lawsuit mention that More wished the letters had been kept to prove their perfectly harmless nature; still George Golde, the carrier, always said that there

slaunder, of tumult and sedition against his Prince': Harps., 186, 11-12; and the *Expositio*, 515: 'talis conscientia... nihil offendiculi, nihil seditionis pariat domino suo'.

was no better keeper than the fire, and so he had burned them : Chambers, 330. Those letters can hardly have been of great importance, as the prisoners were also allowed to receive visitors, who could communicate messages by word of mouth, especially if, like Margaret Roper, they had the permission to see as well the one as the other.

122-23. Non crediderim... posset.] this sentence is omitted from *Expos.*, 515.

123. de rebus quotidianis] *Expos.*, 515 : de nostris priuatis negocijs.

124-25. de quibus... solent] *Expos.*, 515 : pro uetere nostra amicitia ac familiaritate.

125-26. nichil... contingeret] not in the *Expositio*.

129. in vinculis rogatus] detail omitted from *Expos.*, 515.

129. de hoc ipso decreto] this refers to the decree proclaiming the King's spiritual supremacy and to the Act of Parliament declaring it to be treason to deny it *maliciously*. These two documents were made a good while after Fisher and More were taken to prison; they were told of the former, and were asked their candid opinion about it, before the second was shown to them. At any rate that was Fisher's case, who wanted to know what More had replied, and how he took the term *maliciously*, which, to him, seemed most important. More replied that he agreed with Fisher for the meaning both of the decree and of the term *maliciously*, as being the only right one. Still he added that he did not think that the word *maliciously*, to which Fisher in his uprightness gave full significance, would have any value in the mind of the King's commissioners, and that the mere fact of talking against the Supremacy, even if only confidentially or theoretically, would be considered as malicious and punished by death. Consequently Fisher did not entrench himself any longer behind the proviso apparently introduced by '*maliciously*', and preferred keeping silent : Ortro, 324-27.

130. respondissem] Fisher declared that although wishing to know what a clever man like More had replied, he would never do for the King what would hurt his own conscience : Ortro, 296-98.

131. statuisse me, quod iudicio meo, aequius videretur] the

Expositio, 515-16, is different : 'rescripsi... me iam composuisse conscientiam', — which seems impertinent, as More was not asked for a moral decision, but for a theoretical opinion; he was requested to tell what he thought, not what he intended doing.

132-33. ipse de ea statueret] in consequence of what precedes, *Expos.*, 116, has here : 'ipse componeret suam <conscientiam>'. No doubt More wanted to insinuate to his fellow-prisoner that, for their common advantage, it was better that Fisher judged for himself, and expressed what he considered to be true and right, in words which were his, and not an echo of More's. It was, maybe, on account of replies worded similarly that they were suspected of communicating with each other (cp. ll 143-44), which led to an enquiry and to Golde's cross-examination. Yet after that all further intercourse had been made impossible, their answers still agreed, — as no doubt they were based on truth, on the teaching of Church and of divines, and on preceding confidences : Ortroy, 296-99; cp. before, pp. 125-126. — The text of the *Expositio* is far from the mark : the question debated here refers to stating the truth and to defending it, although not in such terms as might suggest a plot or a common arrangement. Instead of that, it once more introduces the mention of *conscientia*, as was done in three former instances, in which the *Ordo* has quite a different reading : cp. notes to ll 62-63, 109-16 and 131.

135-38. Si rescripsissem... videretur] *Expos.*, 516, omits those ideas, but expands the translation of : 'quid hic dignum capite ?' of the *Ordo* by these words : 'Harum igitur causa non possum per uestram constitutionem addici morti'.

138. Nam quod obijcitis dixisse] *Expos.*, 516, has here : 'Superest tertius articulus, qui intendit, quod quum de uestra constitutione examinerer, dixerim'... — which, like the addition on l. 116, shows the ordering hand of Erasmus.

146-48. si tale aliquod decretum tanquam gladius anceps esset : qua ergo ratione quis caueat, quin in alteram eius aciem necessario incurrat ?] The *Expositio* has in this instance : 'si tale esset edictum, qualis est gladius utrinque incidens, quo pacto posset quis euitare,

quin in alterum incideret periculum. Haec mea fuit oratio': *Expos.*, 516.

151-52. de composito... conuenerit] *Expos.*, 516, only has here: 'ex conspiratione', — without any reference to the letters: cp. note to ll. 132-33.

152. forte fortuna &c] the *Expositio* explains the similarity: 'potius ex ingeniorum ac doctrinae similitudine' (*Expos.*, 516).

154. non crediderim] in *Expos.*, 516: 'illud pro certo habetote'.

156-57. quod vir aequus... in malam partem iudicet] the *Expositio* merely writes: 'malitiose'.

157-61. Quid maleuoli... principum] the *Expositio* uses here the adverb *malitiose*, which occurs in the preceding sentence: ...'quicquam maliciose fuisse loquutum': *Expos.*, 516: 'fieri potuit, ut ad benignam Regis clementiam aliquid malitiose fuerit delatum'. — If the *Ordo* lacks here that repetition, it has, on the other hand, a far more interesting antithesis between the fair judgment of any *vir aequus*, and the slander of *maleuoli et sycophantae*; between the *obtrectatores* and the *homines candidi*, — which is missing in the *Expositio*, as well as the passage in which innocence is shown to be ruined helplessly by evil tongues: 'nemo cauere... principum'. By these ideas, as well as by its very wording, this passage of the *Ordo* is far more in the spirit of Rastell than the dull corresponding place in the *Expositio*: he is, indeed, the only one to refer to the treachery resorted to in the proceedings against Fisher, apparently by the Solicitor-General Richard Rich, in so far that some historians have doubted its veracity: Ortroy, 324-27; cp. before, pp. 127-128. Still the absence of all reference in official documents, in reports of the trial, and in contemporary pamphlets has not even the value of a negative argument, for those who suborned the traitor, will have had great care not to reveal his part, and the martyrs were too charitable to charge him with his vile conduct, — except when it could be done to his face, as More was compelled to: *LPH*8, VIII, 856, 2; Roper, 87-91. Rastell refrained from mentioning his name, though (Ortroy, 324), possibly out of respect for his

superior in the hierarchy of the law; maybe in return for a service rendered : cp. before, pp. 134-135. This passage in the *Ordo* at any rate is certainly an allusion to that would-be 'private' messenger, whom the King was said to have sent to the prisoners to inquire 'privately and confidentially' about their opinion on the Supremacy for his own personal information and guidance, as is fully related in the *Lyfe of Fisher*, on the authority of the third extract from Rastell's *Lyfe of More* : Ortrov, 322-27, 404-405; cp. Stapleton, 301-304; Jones, 152-157. That Erasmus had heard about those underhand methods, results from the fact that he ascribed to the Royal Secretary Cromwell and to the Council the questioning of Thomas More about the Divorce and the Supremacy, mentioned in *Ordo*, 86. Similar odious and insidious searching had been going on for some time : Bedyll is said to have visited the Carthusians also to ensnare them about the Supremacy : *LPH8*, VIII, p. xxxii. Whereas there is hardly any doubt about whether Richard Rich was the messenger who tried to entrap Fisher, whose trial he afterwards attended, it is absolutely certain that he strove to trick More, as results from his Indictment : Harps., 274-75; More, therefore, charged him outright with perjury at Court, giving, into the bargain, 'a seathing account' of the character and of the past of that strange Solicitor-General : *LPH8*, VIII, 856, 2; Pocock, 36; Chambers, 327-8, 332-33, 337-39; Jones, 152-57. Considering all, it is almost certain that these lines in the *Ordo* refer to Rich and his treachery; when he arranged this passage, Erasmus may not have been informed of this insidious and deceitful questioning : at any rate he missed the point and made the sentences conciser and brisker with the pun on *malitiose*, through which the interesting allusion was dropped ; whereas the plodder who is answerable for the *Ordo*, was afraid of swerving from his text and carefully reproduced it.

163. pro more Lutetiae vsurpato] in *Expos.*, 516 : 'iuxta gentis illius consuetudinem'. — That contradiction or, at the least, difference in the texts may be caused by the controversy about the origin of the jury operating in the trials of criminal justice; the author

of the original relation of More's death seems to have been a partisan of the Norman origin of a custom which had probably been strengthened during the occupation of Paris and a large part of France by the English, — according to the theory lately advocated by Sir Francis Palgrave (*The History of Normandy and England*) and Dr. Brunner (*Entstehung der Schwurgerichte*). On the contrary, Erasmus may have heard arguments on the subject amongst his friends in England in favour of the indigenous growth, — which opinion, recently defended by Forsyth (*History of the Trial by Jury*), traces the institution of that cherished guarantee of British liberties as far back as the twelve senior 'thegns' of King Ethelred's days.

165. num quid Morus contra... decretum admisisset] in the *Expositio* — 'utrum Thomas Morus malitiose obstitisset praedictae constitutioni Regis, an non' (*Expos.*, 516) — the attention is called especially upon *malitiose*, although the word was considered as 'voyd' by the Royal commissioners : cp. note to l. 56; the *Ordo* is far more consistent, merely referring to the fact of the law having been transgressed, as a result of the debate.
168. quid definissent deferunt] the *Expositio* has here : 'pronunciarent Killim, hoc est, dignus est morte' (*Expos.*, 516-7). Probably there was no special word in the English text which was translated into Latin; if there was one, it must have been *Guilty*, for the jury received ordinarily as question : 'guilty ? or, not guilty ?' — cp. Kerker, 307; Jones, 157; Stapleton, 325; &c; indeed they had only to decide whether the culpability resulted from the trial and the debates; but they had no right whatever about the punishment. It is most unlikely that the jury's answer should have been 'Killim', and it probably was by mistake that Erasmus introduced it into the Latin text to give it local colour, as he mixed it up with *Gilty* or *Guilty*, which it often came to, practically, — although no Rastell, nor even a cultured Englishman should use the one for the other, and would certainly not have written it like that : cp. before, pp. 49, 103.
- 168-170. qui deinde.... enunciauit] these two sentences refer to the conclusion drawn by the jury about the fact

of the case, communicated and accepted by the judges, which the Chancellor enounces in public, declaring More guilty. They do not refer to the proper final condemnation based on the law, which states the penalty incurred. That results from the following lines in which More's last speech is announced : ' Tum... Morus, quia spes omnis vitae praecisa esset, et dissimilatio nulla amplius profutura... in haec verba exorsus est ' : *Ordo*, 171-174 ; there is there no sign yet of absolute certainty of the martyr's fate : for if the doom had actually fallen, a more decisive term than ' spes praecisa ' would have been used, as well as the verb ' erat ' instead of the hypothetical ' esset '. Even More's words : ' Nunc vero quoniam sum morti addictus ', *Ordo*, 177, do not sound quite absolute and irrevocable, although the hope of escaping the fatal doom, which had been most precarious from the very first day of the imprisonment, had completely vanished after the verdict of the jury. Roper's report of the trial — Roper, 92; Harps., 192-93; Chambers, 339-342, — corroborates that interpretation : it thus appears that, according to custom, the judge, after enouncing the decision of the jury, asked the prisoner whether he had anything to remark in his defence before he proceeded to give the sentence; and that in this unpleasant case, Audley did not offer that chance, no doubt, to prevent further discussions; yet More, who had been looking out for that chance, interrupted the Chancellor, and when leave to speak was granted, he frankly explained his opinion about the Statute, which up to then he had withheld so as to avoid anything that might have led to his condemnation, even though appearing as if he either lacked courage or veracity. That the Chancellor did not give the final sentence at this particular moment, follows from his asking the Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench later on, after More's speech, whether the ' indictment were sufficient or not ', before he pronounced the final judgment : Roper, 95-96; Harps., 196-97; Chambers, 342. Whereas the *Ordo* is in perfect harmony with truth and history, although some details were not mentioned in Rastell's report, the *Expositio*

disfigures it by an untoward addition : ' Ac mox per D. Cancellarium lata est sententia iuxta tenorem nouae constitutionis: *Expos.*, 517. By adding those four words Erasmus changes Audley's preparatory statement into the final sentence, and thus he spoils the virtue of More's declaration. It looks there as if he explained his reserve during his imprisonment and his trial just to vex his judges now that his fate was settled, and that showed a narrow-minded disappointment. In reality he had wanted to speak out his mind, but only at the moment when his outspokenness could not any longer be made answerable for his condemnation : he therefore had waited for the verdict of the jury, and with calm and decided courage, freely and sincerely, he then lay open his mind in the teeth of death, before his judges had given the fateful sentence : cp. before, pp. 129-130.

170. Cancellarius] Sir Thomas Audley : cp. l 187.
- 174-177. Hactenus... significare] in the *Ordo* the martyr explains the strange way of defence which he had used during his confinement and his trial : the *Expositio* leaves out that most important preamble, which is as a material part of the justification that follows.
178. quo iure, illi viderint, qui authores fuere] the *Expositio* betrays the evident wish to exonerate Henry VIII and his helpers, for it replaces More's accusation by the unoffending : ' quo iure Deus nouit ' (*Expos.*, 517).
- 179-80. vt... sine ambage vobis expromam quid de decreto Concilij sentiam] here the *Expositio* finds the occasion to refer for the fifth time to ' conscience ' ; *Expos.*, 517 : ' ad exonerandam conscientiam uolo liberius eloqui quod sentio de uestra constitutione ' ; cp. notes to ll. 62-3, 109-16, 131, 132-33, 188-89, 202, and before, pp. 124-127.
185. fas esse, princeps prorsus prophanus, caput sit &c] *Expos.*, 517 : ' quod Laicus, aut ut uocant, secularis, possit aut debeat esse caput &c ; — as if there was no question of Henry VIII.
- 188-89. magis... pius] the *Expositio*, 517, has here, strangely enough : ' meliorisque conscientiae '.
190. vniuersi denique populares regnj] the *Expositio* has here : ' toto denique regno ', whereas evidently only the ' commons ' or the third estate is meant.

193. plures sexcentis] the *Expositio* makes it only : 'plures centum'.
- 194-95. aduersus vnum concilium regium] the *Expositio* leaves out the mention of the King : 'pro unico uestro concilio, quod quale sit Deus nouit'; this latter remark was, no doubt, added by Erasmus: cp. Harps., 350.
- 196-97. quorum ne vnum quidem vestrae isti impietat] subscripsit] this remark probably seemed too severe to Erasmus, for it is left out from the *Expositio*.
200. hactenus bene dissimilata proteruia] the *Expositio* has instead of 'proteruia', two words : 'tua maleuolentia' (*Expos.*, 517); they hint at the term *maliciose* of l 56 (cp. note to ll 201-2), although the *Ordo* is far more natural.
201. Ad quae ille] the *Expositio* adds a title and its explanation : 'Ad quae Morus, Milordt (sic Angli compellant insigni dignitate praestantes)'.
- 201-2. vt haec sic sine ci<r>cutione proferam] in *Expos.*, 517, once more *maleuolentia* is referred to : 'ut hoc loquar non incitat maleuolentia'; cp. note to l 200.
202. ipsa me pietas mouet et religio] this reply is represented in the *Expositio* by the humdrum allusion used so many times already : 'cogit necessitas ad exonerandam conscientiam meam' : cp. notes to ll 62-63, 109-16, 131, 132-33, 179-80 and 188-89.
- 202-6. Nolim... Maximus] More declares that he now speaks to prevent that his silence should be interpreted as a voucher for the insanity of those who condemn him, — and that most formal declaration is omitted from the *Expositio*. Still the value he attaches to that statement is shown by the fact that he follows it up by a solemn oath : 'Testis is sit, cui omnes humanj cordis recessus intime cogniti sunt, Deus Optimus Maximus'. That oath is represented in *Expos.*, 517-18 : 'teste Deo, qui solus scrutatur corda hominum'. Since the declaration found in the *Ordo* that More's silence is not a sign of agreement, is left out in the *Expositio*, the oath seems to refer to the sentence which just precedes : 'ut hoc loquar non incitat maleuolentia, sed cogit necessitas ad exonerandam conscientiam meam'. This is an evident deterioration of the original text : it is indeed worth while invoking

- God's authority when one states that — notwithstanding the adage of the law, — one's silence is not a proof of assent or participation; but there is no sense in appealing to the Lord to asseverate that one speaks to exonerate one's mind! Cp. before pp.126-27.
207. decretum istud vestrum impium esse] the *Expositio* is far more lenient : 'constitutionem uestram esse perperam factam': *Expos.*, 518; cp. Stapleton, 315, 316, 317.
- 211-20. vos nichil... habens] in the *Ordo* More remarks that in Baptism every Christian binds himself to promote the communion and the society of the Church; but, he argues, your decree breaks that unity, and wants your Anglican Church to stand by herself, whereas the Catholic Church is one and undividable, uniting all the various particular churches into one by faith and religion. Far different is what the *Expositio* gives as argument against that obligation of all Christians : 'neque uos soli ullam habetis auctoritatem citra aliorum Christianorum consensum condendi legem, aut instituendi concilium aduersus unionem & concordiam Christianitatis' The *Expositio* does not mention baptism, which takes all the strenght out of the argument; and it merely points out that the people of one country have not the authority for making general ecclesiastical laws, nor for convening Councils, whereas the *Ordo* expresses the charge of a breach of the promise made by every Christian at his baptism.
222. nuptias regias] what More declares here has been often repeated : Henry VIII's second marriage was the cause of the ex-Chancellor's death, as well as that of the religious persecution in England : Stapleton, 201-2, 272, sq. 344, sq. The King's infatuation did not last; it is related that when he heard of the execution of his old friend, he threw the fault on Anne Boleyn who stood by at his game of dice : Blunt, I, 424; Stone, 98; Chambers, 224-25.
- 222-237. At quid... ducam] the first part of this passage, in which More compares the King's second marriage to the connection between Herod and Philip's wife, reproved by John the Baptist (II 223-28), was omitted from the *Expositio* as offensive to Henry VIII; the second part was also left out, as More claims high

glory for himself and for all who belong to him for imitating the martyr John the Baptist (*ll* 228-237). Those omissions greatly disfigure the report of the great Man's last speech, and strangely illustrate the prejudice that obnubilated Erasmus' mind when he composed and re-edited his pamphlet : cp. before, pp. 75, *sq*; through him this comparison with the Precursor has never been mentioned in the accounts of More's trial : Harps., 197; Chambers, 341-42.

237-246. Spero autem... faciat] this part of More's defence was probably pronounced after the sentence had been given : cp. Roper, 96; Harps., 197; Chambers, 342.

237-241. Spero... sentiat, et] this long sentence becomes very short in the *Expositio* : 'Confido autem de diuina bonitate ac misericordia, fore ut'... (*Expos.*, 218). — That way is dropped what the *Ordo* writes about : regia maiestas, siue per affectus nonnichil hallucinans, siue imposturis adulatorum, aliquantum a vero abducta, — again as it is offensive to Henry VIII.

243. coelesti paradiso fruitur] *Expos.*, 218 : 'unanimis sunt in coelo'.

243-45. summa... sit] that wish for Henry VIII's salvation is far more flattering in the *Expositio* : 'ita nos qui nunc discordes sumus in hoc mundo <viz., one sending the other to his death by an iniquitous sentence>, in futuro seculo pariter simus concordēs, & perfecta charitate unanimis' (*Expos.*, 518).

245-46. Tantum... faciat] the passage in the *Expositio*, 518, is quite different : 'Hac spe fretus precor Deum ut uos seruet una cum Rege, eique dare dignetur bonos consultatores'. The *Ordo* does not mention the wish to the judges, which was added in the second issue of the *Expositio*. Judging from the text of the *Ordo* 'salubri consilio uti faciat', the English original must have had here something like : 'God grant the King good council', which was wrongly taken by Erasmus for 'councillors, advisers', as it implied that whatever seemed unjust in Henry VIII, was not to be attributed to him, but to others. That flattering interpretation, which has generally been taken over by later biographers, is certainly far less consistent than the sense of 'mind, disposition', which More most probably intended : cp. before pp. 46, 133.

- 247-48. ad turrim quandam magnam ducitur] this passage proves that the man responsible for the *Ordo* understood English, but had no experience of England, as the slightest acquaintance with London would have entailed the knowledge of that all-important building which would have prevented 'to the Tower' of the original being rendered by 'ad turrim quandam magnam', and followed by the innocent remark: 'opinor eam, qua fortassis vltimam poenam meriti asseruantur'. In the *Expositio*, 518, More is said to be led back 'in Turrim'. Here the experience, which Erasmus gained on his visits to England is shown; the preface he added to his report contains a few lines in which he describes London: 'Ad orientem in extremo habet arcem bene munitam, qua reges interdum utuntur, vulgus Turrim appellat. Sed in eadem seruari solent uiri nobiles, aut alias dignitate quapiam praeminentes qui uidentur aliquid aduersus Regiam maiestatem deliquisse: *Expos.*, 512,; cp. note to I 1, and before, p. 104.
249. Interea &c] the meeting of father and daughter — which Stapleton, 330, places near Westminster Hall, — is introduced in the *Expositio* by the additional remark: 'Hic obiter accidit spectaculum ipsa condemnatione miserabilius', — as if to minimise the iniquitous sentence which devoted the guiltless father to the horrible execution of a traitor. A similar statement is made further: cp. note to II 269-70.
249. vna filiarum] from the details added in the *Expositio*, it is evident that it was edited by a man who knew Margaret Roper personally: he describes her as: 'natu maxima, mulier praeter eximiam formae uenustatem cum summa dignitate coniunctam, iudicio, ingenio, moribus & eruditione patris simillima': *Expos.*, 518; cp. before pp. 51, 72, &c, and Bémont, 9-10; Froude, II, 272-275.
- 251-52. iamiam... videndum] this sentimental remark, not found in *Expos.*, 518, deos not at all sound Rastell-like, and was most probably added by the translator or a copyist.
- 252-53. postposito... personae] *Expos.*, 518: metum & pondorem omnem excusserat <animi dolor>.
- 253-54. flagrans amor vicit] *Expos.*, 518-519: 'animi dolor ,

- to which is added : ' cum audisset patrem in Curia morti addictum esse. Hoc accidit priusquam Morus arcis portam ingrederetur '.
257. nulla edita voce] the *Expositio* adds : ' Curae, inquit Tragicus, leues loquuntur, ingentes stupent ': *Expos.*, 519; Seneca, *Phaëdra*, 607.
258. permissu satellitum] the *Expositio* concludes : ' Mouit stipatores tametsi duos hoc spectaculum. Horum itaque permissu ' &c (*Expos.*, 519).
260. Ita visum est superis] less pseudo-humanistic is *Expos.*, 519 : ' Sic est uoluntas Dei '.
- 261-62. in hanc semper sortem armatum sciuit] that remark is omitted in the *Expositio*, which, on the other hand, adds : ' simulque dedit osculum ex consuetudine gentis, si quem dimittunt ' : — a custom to which Erasmus frequently alludes : cp. before, pp. 72, 131.
262. Mox impetu turbae &c] in the *Expositio* Thomas More takes leave of his daughter with an embrace; still a few moments afterwards she returns to her father : ' At illa cum digressa esset ad decem uel duodecim passus, denuo recurrit ' : *Expos.*, 519; the *Ordo* represents the crowd of onlookers as so numerous and wild, that the daughter was separated from her father by a sudden break, — which sounds far more natural and realistic, and explains why she struggles to rejoin him.
267. ne vnam quidem lachrimulam] the *Expositio* is here in complete opposition with the *Ordo*, for it states that More's tears were streaming from his eyes, although ' uultu... a constantia nihil dimoto ' — which sounds almost miraculous. Cp. before, pp. 50, 51, 122.
- 269-70. Diceret... facere] this pseudo-humanistic remark added by the translator or the copyist, is absent from the *Expositio*, which, on the contrary, states : ' Ad hoc pietatis certamen plurimis e populari turba lachrymae excidere. Erant & inter satellites, ferum & immitte genus hominum, qui lachrymas tenere non potuerunt. Nec mirum, quum pietatis affectus adeo ualida res sit, ut immitissimas etiam feras moueat. Hic apud se quisque reputet quam ualido ariete tum pulsatum sit Thomae Mori pectus. Erat enim erga suos omnes adeo φιλόστοργος, ut non alius magis : sed eam filiam ut

erat eximijs praedita dotibus, ita diligebat impensius. Morum fortiter excepsisse sententiam mortis, aut etiam carnificis securim, minus admirandum existimo, quam pietatem erga suos potuisse uincere. Nihil enim addubito, quin hic doloris gladius crudelius uulnerarit Mori praecordia, quam illa carnificis securis quae collum amputauit' (*Expos.*, 519-520). Cp. before, p. 122.

271. Quarta autem eius septimanae insequente] in *Expos.*, 520: 'Die Mercurij sequente, hoc est, septimo die Iulij' &c, — which is an evident mistake; cp. before p. 47.
- 271-72. pro turrj illa magna modo dicta] cp. notes to II 1, 247-48, and before, p. 104; Entick, I, 394, IV, 335.
272. in aream quandam &c] that rendering shows, once more, that the man who translated the English original into the Latin of the *Ordo*, ignored the best-known places in London: cp. note to II 247-48. On the contrary, the *Expositio* is made quite clear through a note added by Erasmus: 'in planiciem quae est ante arcem. Mos est illic ut afficiendi supplicio, de ponte plebem alloquantur. At Morus paucissimis verbis est usus': *Expos.*, 520; cp. note to I 1. For the report of Fisher's martyrdom in the second part of the *Expositio*, the 'planicies' is mentioned again as 'quam Angli uulgo dicunt Turris collem', viz., Tower Hill: *Expos.*, 522; cp. Chambers, 340, 372.
- 274-75. in praesenti... in futurum] viz., saeculo... saeculum; cp. note to II 243-45; the *Expositio* has here: 'in hoc mundo... in altero': *Expos.*, 520; cp. before, p. 48.
- 277-78. sana sectari consilia] in the *Expositio*, More requests the people to pray that God 'dignaretur impertiri <Regi> bonum consilium': *Expos.*, 520; cp. note to II 245-46, and before, pp. 46, 133.
280. securi caeditur] in *Expos.*, 520: 'Haec loquutus prompte constantique uultu flexis genibus ceruicem posuit securim excepturus, non sine graui multorum gemitu'.
- 281-98. Non dubium... execrabitur.] Of this tasteless 'pseudo-humanistic' comment, nothing is found in the *Expositio*, which closes the report of More's death with the words: 'Erat enim bonis omnibus charissimus'. — It then starts relating Fishers's martyrdom and, incidentally, that of the Carthusians: *Expos.*, 520-530.

D. COMPARATIVE TABLE

The comparative value of the *Ordo* and the *Expositio* as representatives of the original report sent from England, is shown graphically in the following list, in which, for every line of the manuscript edited here, is indicated the quality of the parallel reading in the 'vulgate' report of the trial and martyrdom for which Erasmus is answerable. Rectifications of wrong explanations, like those of the Tower and Tower Hill ¹⁾, are marked by C, whereas a dash, —, indicates those passages which were unduly inserted into the *Ordo* by a short-sighted translator or transcriber. Lines which have an equivalent in the *Expositio* are not marked; an S shows those which are summarized, and an E, those which are expanded. Mistaken passages, or such in which some important or characteristic detail is omitted or toned down, are pointed out by M; those added by Erasmus in the first issue of the *Expositio* of October 1535, and reproduced by the French and German translations ²⁾, are indicated by A at the line where they are inserted; whereas the information introduced in the second issue, of the end of 1535 or the beginning of 1536 ³⁾, is marked by A*.

Without taking into consideration the pseudo-humanistic epilogue added by the translator or by a copyist to the *Ordo* with the evident intention to have it considered as an epilogue, and not as part of the original report ⁴⁾, the comparison for the 280 remaining lines shows the incontestable superiority of that manuscript text. It has only three wrong passages, evidently caused by the lack of acquaintance with England, and three humanistic interpolations, which on 280 lines represent a percentage of 2.1. In the *Expositio*, on the contrary, are found no less than 73 lines in which the sense was not understood, or inexactly rendered, especially since Erasmus neither wanted to extol his friend, nor blame the King more than he could help; which further occasioned the omission of 88 lines, amongst which is that most important

¹⁾ *Expos.*, 518, 520; *Ordo*, 247-8, 271; cp. before, p. 104.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp. 37-52.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp. 50-51, 55, sq, 121-22.

⁴⁾ *Ordo*, 281-298.

passage about Herod and St. John the Baptist ¹⁾. The report is further considerably impaired by the summarizing of 55 lines, — which brings the total of objectionable passages to 216 lines, a percentage of 77.1. It thus leaves barely one quarter of the document as unexceptionable, and that only to a certain extent, for amongst the few expanded lines some are sadly wanting in logic ²⁾. Those shortcomings, which are especially regrettable in the report of the great lawyer's defence ³⁾, are by far not redeemed by the information which Erasmus added ⁴⁾: though mostly useful, some of it is very much open to question: such is the 'Killim' of the first issue ⁵⁾, and such is, too, the incomprehensible sketch of More taking leave of his daughter, in which his face is described as stern and unmoved, 'constans', whilst the tears are running over his cheeks ⁶⁾.

KEY TO THE TABLE

A	passages added in <i>Expositio</i>	(1 st issue)
A*	» » » »	(2 nd issue)
C	» corrected in <i>Expositio</i>	
E	» expanded » »	
M	» misrepresented »	
O	» omitted » »	
S	» shortened » »	
no mark	» equivalent » »	
—	unduly inserted in <i>Ordo</i>	

¹⁾ *Ordo*, 223-237.

²⁾ Cp. e. g., note to *Ordo*, 41-46.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp. 105, 123-130, 130, *sq.*

⁴⁾ He inserted fifteen passages in his first *Expositio*, and nineteen — the first one very long — in the second.

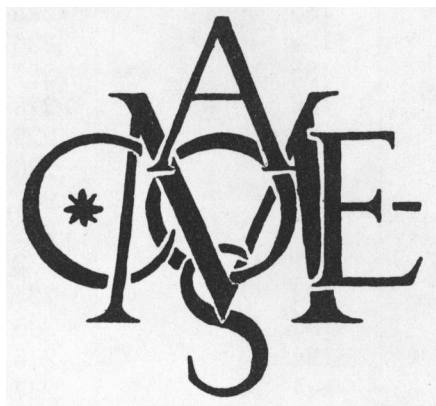
⁵⁾ *Expos.*, 517; *Ordo*, 168, *n.*

⁶⁾ *Expos.*, 519; *Ordo*, 265; cp. before, pp. 49, 50, 51, 122.

<i>Expos., 511-512</i>					
<i>Ordo</i>	A*	41	E	82	O
1	S	42	E	83	O
2	S	43	M	84	O
3	O	44	M	85	S A
4	O	45	E	86	S
5	O	46	O	87	S
6	O	47	O	88	O
7		48	O	89	S
8		49	O	90	S A
9	A*	50	O	91	O
10		51	O	92	O
11	S A	52	O	93	O
12	O	53	O	94	M
13	O	54	O	95	M
14	O ⁵¹³	55	O	96	M A*
15	O	56		97	
16	O	57		98	
17	S A*	58	O	99	M
18	S	59	O	100	M A
19	S	60	M	101	O
20	S	61	M	102	M
21	S	62	M	103	M A ⁵¹⁵
22	S	63	M	104	
23	S	64	S	105	
24	S	65	S	106	M
25	S	66	S A*	107	M
26	S	67	S	108	M A
27	S	68	M ⁵¹⁴	109	M
28	S	69	M A	110	M
29	S	70	M	111	M
30	S	71	O	112	M
31	S	72	O	113	M
32	S	73	O	114	M
33	S	74	O	115	M A
34	S	75	M	116	M A
35	S	76	S	117	M A
36	S	77	S	118	
37	O	78	S	119	O
38	O	79	S	120	A
39	O	80	S	121	
40	O	81	S	122	O

123	O		165	M		207	M	
124			166		517	208	O	
125	O		167			209	O	
126	O		168	M		210		
127			169	M		211	M	
128			170	M	A	212	M	
129	O		171	O		213	M	
130			172	O		214	M	
131	M		173	O		215	M	
132	M	516	174	O		216	M	
133	M		175	O		217	M	
134			176	O		218	M	
135	O		177	M		219	M	
136	O		178	M		220	M	
137	O		179	M		221		
138	O	A	180	M		222	O	
139	S		181	S		223	O	
140	S		182	S		224	O	
141	S		183			225	O	
142	S		184			226	O	
143	S		185	M		227	O	
144	S		186			228	O	
145	S		187			229	O	
146			188			230	O	
147			189			231	O	
148			190	M		232	O	
149			191	O		233	O	
150			192	O		234	O	
151	O		193	M		235	O	
152	O		194			236	O	
153			195	M	A	237	O	
154			196	O		238	O	
155			197	O		239	O	
156	O		198			240	O	
157	M		199			241	O	
158	M		200	M		242		
159	M		201	M	A*	243	M	
160	M		202	M		244	M	
161	M		203	O		245	M	A*
162	O		204	O	518	246	M	
163	M		205	O		247		
164			206	M		248	C	

249	C	A*	260	C		271		A ⁵²⁰
250		A*	261	M	A*	272	C	A*
251	—		262	M		273	S	
252	S		263			274	S	
253	S		264			275	S	
254		A* ⁵¹⁹	265		A*	276	S	
255		A*	266	M		277	S	
256	O		267	M		278	S	
257	O	A*	268	M		279	E	A*
258		A*	269	—		280	E	A*
259			270	—	A*	281-298	—	



APPENDIX



APPENDIX

In the volume of St. Trudo Abbey, the *Ordo* is followed by the copy of two documents in Gerard Morinck's writing on the space left on *f* 313 *v*, after the last line, and on the two sides of the sixth in-folio leaf, which had remained blank. Both of them are closely connected with the trial and death of More, as one is an *Epitaphium* ¹⁾; the other is the list of *articuli*, injunctions, which the Royal Commissioners were to see applied in their visits to the various friaries of England, in the Spring of 1534, which were the first symptoms of the impending persecution, following naturally on the paltry submission of the larger part of the clergy, which More refused to share, thus imperilling his life ²⁾.

Several devotional phrases and texts were afterwards inserted on the manuscript between the *Ordo*, the *Epitaphium* and the *Articuli*, and one after the *Injunctions*, according to the peculiar way in which the monks of St. Trudo Abbey made their volume into a store-room for edifying literature, using up for quotations any space left in between the various documents ³⁾. Of these additions only two are quoted here ⁴⁾.



¹⁾ *Cart&Man.*, 391^B: 813 *v*; just below the last line of the *Epitaphium* is found the catchword (also in Morinck's writing): '*Sequuntur articuli*' (the first words on next page), which was afterwards crossed off when other hands added some devotional texts.

²⁾ On *f* 814 *r*, *v* of *MS* 391^B of *Cart&Man.*

³⁾ *MonHL*, 73-74.

⁴⁾ They refer to More : cp. p. 208.

I

THE EPITAPH BY JANUS SECUNDUS

A. THE POET

The author of the *Epitaphium*, who, according to the note added to the title '*incertum quo autore*', was unknown to Morinck, was the famous poet Janus Secundus, imperial secretary ¹⁾. In the summer of 1535, he was prevented by ill-health from following the Emperor in his expedition against Tunis ²⁾; his epigram '*In Carolum V. Imp. F. P. A. cum in Africa pugnaret*', was not built up from experience, but from rhetoric and fancy ³⁾. The death of More made a far deeper impression on him : he wrote the *Epitaphium*, as well as the much longer *Naenia, in mortem eiusdem* <*Thomae Mori*> ⁴⁾, beginning thus :

Extinctum flemus crudeli funere Morum
Et regem immanem, Veneremque cruore madentem
Fortunaeque viceis, & laesa pellicis iram...

Those poems, especially the *Naenia*, express such violent indignation that the poet feared some trouble either for himself or for his brothers, and let them circulate anonymously ⁵⁾. They at once were recognized as fine pieces of work, and the Hagenau *ludimagister* Jerome Gebwiler ⁶⁾ even thought he

¹⁾ This son of the celebrated lawyer Nicolas Everardi, president of Mechlin Great Council, born at The Hague in 1511, became famous as poet along with his two brothers Adrian Marius and Nicolas Grudius, making up the *Tres Fratres Belgae*; he was also a medallist : *Cran.*, 123, *pr*, 292, *pr*, *lvii*, &c; *MonHL*, 479; *Crane*, 24, 37, 94-96; *J. Nott, Kisses &c*: London, 1778 : 30-31; and the bibliography indicated there.

²⁾ *Crane*, 23.

³⁾ *JSecOp.*, 117; he also started a *De Bello Tunetano*, before the expedition left Spain ; it has remained a fragment, preserved in a letter to Adrian Marius : *Crane*, 23.

⁴⁾ *JSecOp.*, 231-236.

⁵⁾ Six years later, when his brothers edited Janus' collected works, *Opera nunc primum in lucem edita* (Utrecht, 1541), they left the poems on More out, '*quod*' as they wrote in the preface, '*in principes quosdam acerbius dicta viderentur*' : *Crane*, 24.

⁶⁾ Jerome Gebwiler, *Gebulerius*, 1473-1545, of Horburg, Alsace, studied (under Brant) at Basle, and later on in Paris; he became ludi-

saw Erasmus' hand in them. He consequently edited them under the title ¹⁾ :

Incomparabilis doctrinæ, trium item linguarum peritissimi viri D. Erasmi Rotherodami, in sanctissimorum martirum Rofensis Episcopi, ac Thomæ Mori, iam pridem in Anglia pro Christiana veritate constanter defensa, innocenter passorum Heroicum Carmen tam elegans quam lectu dignissimum... < Hagenau, > Anno MDXXXVI. mense Septembri.

In that pamphlet, the *Epitaphium* copied by Morinck, is ascribed to 'Io. S.' as author. On account of the success that welcomed it, the little book was soon published a second time ²⁾; Gebwiler once more ascribed the *Naenia* to Erasmus, but expanded the initials of the author of the *Epitaphium* 'Io. S.' into : Joannes Sapidus ³⁾.

A copy of that edition reached the Latin professor Conrad Goclenius, of the Louvain *Trilingue* ⁴⁾, who recognizing the style of his old student, passed it on to his brother Adrian Marius ⁵⁾, suggesting a corrected edition with the author's

magister at Breisach, 1498, at Schlettstadt, 1501, Strassburg, 1509, and finally at Hagenau, 1524. At Schlettstadt he had as pupils Boniface Amerbach, Beatus Rhenanus and John Sapidus; at Strassburg, he was, with Wimpfeling and Ottomar Luscinius, an active member of the literary circle where Erasmus was often welcomed : Allen, II, 302, 5; RhenE, 3, 4, &c.

¹⁾ Quoted from Baumgartner, 588.



²⁾ Harps., 255.

³⁾ Joannes Witz, *Sapidus* (1490-1561), of Schlettstadt, was in that town one of Gebwiler's disciples; he studied for a time in Paris, and became first his master's assistant, and by 1510, his successor; he made the school most prosperous, and only resigned for his religious opinions in 1525. He went to live and study at Strassburg; he was made famous by his *Epigrammata*, published in 1520 : Allen, II, 323, *pr*; RhenE, 3, 5, &c; Enders, II, 377.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p. 28.

⁵⁾ Adrian Marius Nicolai, Janus Secundus' brother, after studying jurisprudence, became a member of Mechlin Great Council, from which he was appointed Chancellor of Gelderland and Zutphen. He wrote and published several books of poems and translated some of Lucian's dia-

name. Indeed a few weeks before, on September 24, 1536, Janus Secundus had died, long before his time, in St. Amand's Abbey ¹⁾, and the two surviving *Fratres Belgae* contemplated publishing the poet's works ²⁾: that scheme (which was executed only in 1541) required some time ³⁾, and meanwhile, it looked urgently necessary, not only to ensure the authorship, but also the literary correctness of form for these two poems; for they had been printed defectuously, both in style and metre; moreover, a lengthy passage in praise of Charles V. and of Queen Catherine, had been left out. On that account the two poems were edited by the two brothers, and printed as early as December 1536 by Servatius Zassenus, in Louvain ⁴⁾, under the title:

 NAENIA IN  / MORTEM CLARISS. VIRI /
 Thomæ Mori. Autore Ioanne Secun-/do Nicolai
 F. Hagieñ. falso an /te hac D. Erasmo Rot.
 adscripta, / ac deprauatissime / edita. /// Lovanii
 in ædibus Seruatii Zasseni / Diestensis. Anno
 Domini M. D./xxxvi. Mense De-/cembri. / + /

In the introduction to this little book, Adrian Marius explains the reason of the hasty publishing of those poems, and states that his brother, the poet, had intended omitting from the *Naenia*, if it ever were printed, some passages particularly offensive to Henry VIII. Since, however, the text had been brought out by Gebwiler with those particular verses, and that they thus were in the hands of hundreds of readers, there was, in his opinion, no reason to suppress any part whatever of the poem ⁵⁾.

The editions of Janus Secundus' poems of 1536 and 1541 (repr. Paris 1561) were known, though only by their title,

logues in verse. He died in Brussels on March 21, 1568: *BibBelg.*, 13-14; *Cron.*, 123, e, lxxiv, lxxvii; Azevedo, 74, 76, 79.

¹⁾ *MonHL*, 479.

²⁾ *Cron.*, 123, e, lvii.

³⁾ Crane, 94.

⁴⁾ In-4°, 8 leaves, sign A⁴ B⁴: *NijKron.*, I, 1227.

⁵⁾ *JSecOp.*, ***** 1 r, sq; in the 1541 edition the 'objectionable poem' was left out.

to Thomas Stapleton ¹⁾, who secured a second epitaph by Secundus on More which he quoted in his *Vita*. ²⁾ Peter Scriverius, who edited the poet's complete works in 1619, succeeded in finding a third on the English martyr, beginning :

Ad Styga cum Mori venisset flebilis umbra &c.

He added to those *Opera Omnia* an *Epitaphium Catharinae Reginae Angliae* and an *Epistola ad Catharinam Reginam Angliae nomine Henrici VIII, conscripta a Io. Secundo* ³⁾, in reply to *Ad Henricum VIII. Regem Angliae, Epistola Catharinae uxoris repudiatae nomine conscripta a Fr. Mario Molso* ⁴⁾, besides reprinting Adrian Marius' preface to the *Naenia* of 1536 in the series of introductions ⁵⁾. Thus there is evidence enough about the authorship of that most effective elegy. Yet several historians of literature continue attributing that poem to Erasmus. H. A. Erhard ascribed it to him in 1842, in a biographical sketch of the *Allgemeine Encyclopädie* ⁶⁾; H. Kammel did so in 1877, in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* ⁶⁾, and as late as 1925, Alex. Baumgartner praised Erasmus in *Die Lateinische und Griechische Literatur der Christlichen Völker*, for the impressive *Naenia*, in which, as he wrote, Erasmus, with his poetical foresight, predicted the triumph of the veneration of the Church for More, and all but introduced his cause of canonization ⁷⁾. Most surprisingly K. Hartfelder reprinted Gebwiler's pamphlet of 1536 in 1893 under the title : *Ein Unbekannt Gebliebenes Gedicht des Desiderius Erasmus von Rotterdam* ⁸⁾. In one of

¹⁾ Stapleton, 357 : 'Ioannes Secundus Hagiensis Naeniam scripsit de morte Tho. Mori, quae ad manus meas non peruenit'. Cp. further, p. 200.

²⁾ Stapleton, 367; cp. further, p. 200.

³⁾ JSecOp., 230-247.

⁴⁾ JSecOp., ***** 1 r, sq.

⁵⁾ Edited by J. S. Ersch and J. B. Gruber, Leipzig, 1842 : XXXVI: 210-212.

⁶⁾ Leipzig, 1877 : VI, 179.

⁷⁾ Baumgartner, 588-591 ; on p. 588, he remarks about the *Naenia* : Stapleton hat es bereits 1588 irrtümlicherweise dem Johannes Nicolai Secundi zugeschrieben. Cp. further, p. 200.

⁸⁾ *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte* : Berlin, 1893 : VI, 461-64. The question treated afterwards by Baumgartner, 1925, was made the subject of a communication at the meeting of the *Modern Language Association of America* on December 28, 1927, announced as :

the latest studies on the subject the poem is still attributed to Erasmus ¹⁾, and in another it is used as argument against the attribution of the *Expositio* to him on account of the difference of tone in which More's death is treated ²⁾.

Long before Scriverius reproduced the *Epitaphium* quoted by Morinck in *Secundus' Opera*, it had been reprinted by Thomas Stapleton in his *Tres Thomae* of 1588, — evidently not from the edition of the poet's works, which he declared not to have seen at all³⁾; but either from one of the newest *Expositio*'s issued by J. Steels, Antwerp, 1536 ⁴⁾, or from one of the manuscript copies, which the friends of More at Louvain, — the Clements, the Rastells and the Harris's, — must have treasured. At any rate he inserted it amongst the poems in praise of the martyr which he added to his *Vita et Illustre Martyrium Thomae Mori*, ascribing it to the real author : *Ioannis Secundi Hagiensis* ⁵⁾. He added to it a second by the same poet :

ALIUD EIUSDEM.

State viri. Forte hos cineres nouisse iuuabit.
 Hunc tumulum Morus colla resectus habet.
 Ille decus regni quondam & nunc dedecus Angli
 Quod tulerat talem, quod modo sustulerit.
 Illi vt salua foret pietas, pridem Aula relicta est.
 Salua vt perduret, vita relicta modo est.
 Fide Thoma. Quantam nolles vindicta paratur.
 Regalesque tuis Manibus inferiae. ⁶⁾

From quite a different source the *Epitaphium* found in Morinck's manuscript, was known to Peter van Opmeer ⁷⁾,

'Erasmus and a Latin Poem on the Death of Sir Thomas More', by D. T. Starnes, Univ. of Texas : *Publications of Mod. Lang. Ass.* : New York, 1927 : XI,II : p. xviii. ¹⁾ Constant, 152, 533, 534.

²⁾ Harps., 255.

³⁾ Stapleton, 357; cp. before, p. 199.

⁴⁾ In some copies Steels added over his colophon, f B 8 v, two epitaphs on More : *State viri...*, ALIVD. Hospes. *Qui iacet hic...*, without the poet's name : cp. p. 89, n 7. Stapleton, 352, used Steels' issue : cp. p. 85, n 1.

⁵⁾ Stapleton, 367; the variants are indicated on p. 204.

⁶⁾ Stapleton, 367.

⁷⁾ Peter van Opmeer, born in Amsterdam in 1526, studied in the Louvain *Trilingue*, and remained interested the whole of his life in studies

who inserted it in his *Opus Chronographicum Orbis Vniuersi*, before 1569 ¹⁾, and also rightly ascribed it to : *Ioannes... Secundus Hagiensis Poeta* ²⁾. He was well informed about More, as he enjoyed for several years the teaching and the friendship of Nicolas Kan, *Cannius*, one of Erasmus cleverest amanuenses³⁾, and was well acquainted with another favourite pupil of that famous man, Quirinus Talesius, who became Haarlem pensionary ⁴⁾. Through them, no doubt, he gathered the information that Erasmus, who was playing chess when he heard the fatal news of More's execution, poured out his indignation in an impromptu distich ⁵⁾ :

Henrici laudes vis versu claudier vno,
Æque Mida facias, æque Nerone virum.

From his acquaintance with the poet-martyr Cornelius Musius, of Delft ⁶⁾, — who was encouraged to his martyrdom

and literators. He took an active part in the controversy with Calvinists, especially by translating the writings of some Fathers of the Church. He related his experience in that struggle in his *Historia Martyrum Batavicornum*, which was printed thirty years after he died at Delft in 1595 : Paquot, IV, 80-88.

¹⁾ This work was written before 1569, as it closes with the events of that year; it was edited by his son in 1611; a second part, by L. Beyerlinck, continues it from 1570 to 1611 : Paquot, IV, 85-87.

²⁾ Opmeer, 477, *a-b*; *BatavMart.*, 98; cp. F.Nève, *La Renaissance des Lettres* : Louvain, 1890 : 171, who mentions Secundus' epitaphs and their wrong ascription to Erasmus.

³⁾ Nicolas Kan(ne), of Amsterdam, served Erasmus from 1524 to 1530; he afterwards taught in his native town, where he was rector of the Ursuline Convent, and died in 1555 : *Cran.*, 242, *pr*; cp. before, pp. 78-79.

⁴⁾ Quirinus Dirksz. Talesius, 1505-1573, of Haarlem, son of Thierry van Lisen, cloth merchant (hence the name Talesius given to his son by Erasmus), studied in Cologne, matriculating in the last months of 1523 : 'Quyrinus Harlem; art. i. et s.' : Keussen, 862. He soon after went to Basle, entering Erasmus' service in 1524 at Livinus Algoet's leaving, and proved most valuable and faithful. He left his master in 1531, becoming in 1532 paid councillor of his native town, which he ruled afterwards as mayor during several years. He died a martyr with his two daughters, the 'béguine' Ursula and the widowed Mary : *LatCont.*, 878-381; *BatavMart.*, 102-106; Allen, VII, 1966, *pr*; cp. before, pp. 78-79.

⁵⁾ Opmeer, 477, *a, b*.

⁶⁾ *BatavMart.*, 93.

by the example of his much admired More and Fisher ¹⁾, — Opmeer, no doubt, derived the two hexastichs which he added to the passage referring to the double execution. The poet Adrian de Jonghe, *Junius*, of Hoorn ²⁾ had written one on a portrait of Fisher, alluding to the Roman purple that had hastened his execution ³⁾ :

ADRIANUS JUNIUS

Te niuei mores celebrem, & conscia virtus
 Euexit coelo, & religionis amor.
 Sed dum Romuleo nimium tibicine fultus
 Perstas, nec caussam Regis amare potes :
 Mors properata tibi est, ceruice cruenta re[s]cissa,
 Munus vbi infelix purpura missa venit.

To which Cornelius Musius added a second, in Fisher's name :

CORNELIUS MUSIUS

Non ergo purpureos ambiui indignus honores
 Nec potui humanis fidere praesidijs.
 Vnica cura fidem intrepide veramque tueri
 Commissoque ouium pro grege cuncta pati.
 Si quaeras, ceruix igitur cur ense rescissa est ?
 Improba displicuit Regia caussa mihi. ⁴⁾

¹⁾ Cornelius Muys, *Musius* (1508-1572), of Delft, studied in Louvain, specially at the *Trilingue*. He taught for a time at Ghent, and went with some of his pupils to Paris and Poitiers. On his return to Holland, he was placed at the head of the Convent of St. Agatha, of his native town, where he lived a life of piety and study, and got a name as excellent Latin poet. He was cruelly martyred for his faith, after having been expelled from his convent by his former friend and guest William of Orange, who himself afterwards met there his fate : *BibBelg.*, 160-162; *BatavMart.*, 66-99; *MonHL.*, 375, 462, 485, 614, 689.

²⁾ Adrian de Jonghe, *Junius* (1512-1575), of Hoorn, was famous for his remarkable memory and intelligence. He was physician and philologist, historian and poet, besides being a clever linguist. He published several works, whereas others were found amongst his papers and printed after his death : *BibBelg.*, 11-18.

³⁾ Cp. EE, 1509, c, d, 1518, B, and before, pp. 24, 164-65.

⁴⁾ Opmeer, 477, b.

B. THE TEXT

EPITAPHIUM

INCERTUM QUO AUTORE

QUIS truncus iacet hic : cuius caput ense recisum est ?
 Quæ natat in tetro sanguine canities ?
 Hic est ille Thomas Morus : sic fata rependunt :
 Tristia multa bonis, et bona multa malis.
 Quæ circumsistunt diuæ lugubre cadauer ?
 Diua tenax verj, sancta fides, Nemesis :
 Quarum prima fuit, fuit et causa altera mortis ;
 Vltrix iniustæ tertia cædis erit.

MORUS londinj gloria prima suj
 MORUS londine nobilitatis honos



Title] over the title, below the last line of the Ordo, another hand than Morinck's, c, wrote *Esto*
 animo fortj cum sis damnatus inique / Nemo diu gaudet qui iudice vincit iniquo —
 connected with the two lines is the word *Cato*, added to the right

incertum] before this word *nescio* is crossed off

1-6 the names of the speaking personages stand out in left margin

8 erit.] below this word, Morinck wrote as catchword *Sequuntur articuli* — afterwards crossed off

9-10 added by hand c between last line (l. 8) of Epitaphium and the catchword

Underneath l. 10 and the catchword, hand b wrote : *Iusti autem in perpetuum viuent*
et apud Dominum est / merces eorum / Justus vt palma florebit, et sicut cedrus
libani / multiplicabitur / Sancti tui Domine florebut / Underneath, hand c wrote :
Vicit vim virtus / Strauit fortunam virtus / Veritas premitur non opprimitur ;
Laborat verum sed eluctatur tandem

C. NOTES

1-8 Quis &c.] Stapleton has not the names of the speakers in the left margin.

1. Quis truncus iacet hic] in Opmeer : Quis iacet hic truncus ?
in Stapleton : Quis iacet hic truncus ?

1. recisum] Opmeer : rescisum

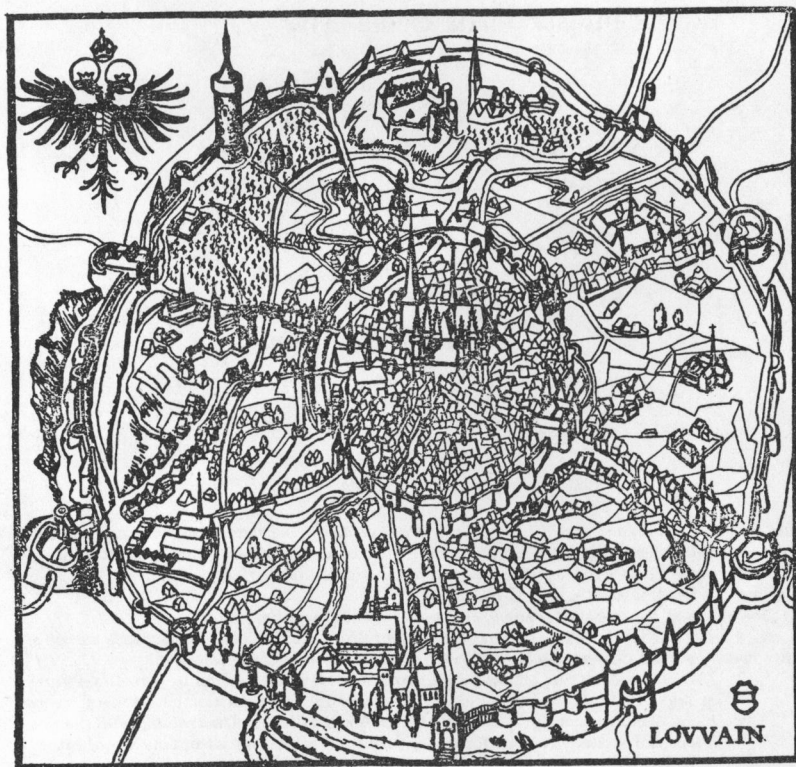
1. est ?] Opm. : est, — Stapleton : est

2. Quae natat] Opmeer : Et natat

6. Diua &c] Stapleton : Diua tenax veri : sancta Fides.
Nemesis.

7. Quarum prima fuit, fuit et causa altera mortis] Opm. :
Harum prima odij caussa, & fuit...; Stapleton : Qua-
rum prima fuit causa & fuit altera mortis.

9-10. These two lines added by hand C, have been reproduced here, as they refer to Morus.



II

THE INJUNCTIONS TO THE VISITORS OF THE FRIARIES, 1534

A. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The articles of the Commission of the General Visitors in the religious houses in England were apparently transcribed by Morinck from another copy ; they had been translated from English into Latin, no doubt to serve as information abroad, by a man who, although acquainted with the language, was not familiar with the proper names; indeed, he — or whoever is responsible, — wrote ' Joannes Helsey ' instead of ' Joannes Hilsey ' ; also ' Georgius Vorby ', and ' Vrobij ' instead of ' George Brown ' ¹⁾, being probably unable to attribute a rational value to the strangely-shaped letters of his original without any form or sense to help him.

The document copied was the first of the series of the famous Injunctions for the Royal Visitors of the Religious Houses in England, which were as the preludes to their suppression. The present *Articuli* were devised only for the communities of friars under the obedience of Generals who resided in Rome, but were represented in England by Provincials or *Ministri* ; the King and Cromwell wanted to sever them from any connection with the Papal Court, so much the more as several Franciscans had violently blamed the second marriage in their sermons ²⁾. In the month of April 1534, they decided to force the communities to accept the supervision of the Visitors appointed by the King, and to refuse even the access to their convents to their Provincials or Ministers until the royal delegates should have seen the brotherhoods and reported on them. Those delegates were to compel the friars to accept the King as supreme head of the Anglican church, Anne as his legal wife, and her children as heirs to the throne. They moreover were to forbid all the members to consider the Bishop of Rome any higher than any other bishop, and to order them to proclaim those state-

¹⁾ Ll. 29, 41, 42.

²⁾ Chiefly the Observants Forest, Pecoock, Elstow and Peto : Gasq*Mon.*, I, 148-162 ; Constant, 70-71, 425-26.

ments in their sermons and their conversations. As delegates were appointed Dr. George Brown, provincial of the order of the Augustines ¹⁾, — whom the copy calls ‘*vorby* or ‘*Vrobij*’ ²⁾, — and John Hilsey, provincial of the Dominican Friars ³⁾: — his name is written *Helsey* or *Helsen* in the copy. They were commissioned by Cromwell in April 1534 to visit the friaries ⁴⁾, and thus started the tyrannical dominion of the laity over the religious communities: in that month Chaupays informed his Imperial master that the King had inaugurated the sovereignty which he claimed over the English Church, and had appointed a Dominican and an Augustine Provincials and Great Visitators. When, a few months later, the Pilgrimage of Grace started, they were eked out for immediate dismissal and for exemplary punishment ⁵⁾.

The *Articuli*, expressing their commission for the Friaries ⁶⁾, were taken as basis for the visitation of the lesser, and even of the greater abbeys. Thus the rules given in 1535 for the use of Dr. Leighton, Dr. Legh, Dr. Petre and Dr. London, repeat several of the items of the *Articuli* of 1534: the first injunction is reproduced in Latin in almost the same terms; then follow in English the equivalents of paragraphs 1

¹⁾ George Brown(e), D. D., married Henry & Anne, and was rewarded by the position of Provincial of the Austin Friars, 1534, and Archbishop of Dublin, 1536; he applied the Act of Supremacy and of the Annates to Ireland, and introduced there the English Prayerbook; he was hated by the clergy and the people; at Mary's accession he was deprived of his archbishopric as he was married; he died in 1556: *DNB*; Gough, 184; Gairdner, 142, 222; Blunt, I, 322; Constant, 466; V. Ronan, *The Reformation in Dublin*, 1536-1558: London, 1926; Pastor, IV, ii, 512.

²⁾ No doubt by ‘methathesis’ of *b* and *u* in reading or writing, and the reading of *-n* as *ii*.

³⁾ John Hilsey, or Hildesleigh, D.D. of Oxford, 1532, was appointed prior at Bristol, and, in 1533, provincial by Cromwell; he was rewarded with the succession of Fisher as bishop of Rochester, 1535, in which office he died in 1538. He exposed the ‘Boxley Rood’ and other relics as ‘impostures’ in 1538; he compiled ‘*the Prymer in Englyshe*’, a manual of prayers, printed in 1539, and he helped in the compiling of the *Institution of a Christian Man*: *DNB*; Gairdner, 199; PollCra., 97, 128-31, 135, 175; Constant, 188, 207, 240, 261-268, 270.

⁴⁾ *LPH8*, VII, 587, 18; Gairdner, 150; Spillmann, I, 71-73, 190; Constant, 70, 105.

⁵⁾ Some details of their visits, such as those to the London convents, from April 17 to 20, are recorded in *GasqMon.*, I, 163, sq.

⁶⁾ *LPH8*, VII, 599; *GasqMon.*, I, 163-164.

(in English), II, III, V, VI, VII, X and XII. The fourth paragraph is replaced by an order to preach the 'aforesaid matters'; the eighth, by an injunction to test preachers and their sermons; the ninth and the eleventh, being special to friaries, got as substitutes some precepts better adapted to independent abbeys and monasteries ¹⁾.

Although these *articuli* had no direct bearing on the narrative of Thomas More's death, yet they are connected with his martyrdom, which was as a protestation against the enslavement of the Church of his native country for the sake of satisfying Henry VIII's inordinate love and its dreadful consequences ²⁾. It roused all evil appetites, and it is not without signification that the last item in the injunctions prescribed the gauging of the loot that might be hoped for; the friaries, to be true, yielded very little; no doubt it was therefore that, directly after the two great defenders of right and justice had been taken out of the way, the King and Cromwell proceeded to the general Visitation of the abbeys ³⁾, which, by the spoil distributed, linked to them part of the aristocracy and the many greedy and turbulent upstarts, who for fear of a forced restitution, endeavoured with might and main to widen the breach with Rome and with their own past. Whilst the larger mass of the people remained Roman Catholic in heart and faith for ever so long ⁴⁾, they laboured incessantly to turn away all danger from their ill-gotten goods by creating a heavy atmosphere of blind prejudice and bitter hatred against the Church and the Faith that produces men and martyrs like Thomas More ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Strype, I, 380-382, quoting the *Injunctions* for 1535; London, *Brit-Mus.*, Cotton MS Cleopatra E, 4: ff. 18, 21; David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*: London, 1787: III, 786.

²⁾ Blunt, I, 295, sq; Gairdner, 165, sq, 892; Pastor, V, 688, sq; Strype, I, 327-402; Bémont, 7, 29-81, 88-87; Jones, 148-150.

³⁾ Froude, II, 310-311.

⁴⁾ *Last Lett.*, xvi.

⁵⁾ Hilaire Belloc, *Characters of the Reformation*: London, 1986: 90-94, 97, 195-97; Pastor, VI, 187, 191, 208-4, 207, 209, 213.

B. THE TEXT

SEQUUNTUR ARTICULI COMMISSIONIS, GENERALIUM VISITATORUM REGNI ANGLIÆ DEPUTATORUM

<i> Jn primis quod omnes et singuli fratres cuiuscumque cœnobij in domo sua capitularj congregentur. Deinde singuli seorsum et separatim disquirantur super sequentibus :

3 <ii> Primo quod cogantur exhibere fidem et obedientiam Domino nostro Regi Henrico.

<iii> Jtem vniversi et singuli iuramento astringantur præstare integram fidem erga ipsum regem Henricum, dominam reginam Annam et sobolem ex ipso rege et ipsa regina Anna tam procreatam quam procreandam.

10 <iv> Jtem quod confiteantur matrimonium ipsius regis cum ipsa regina Anna esse verum et legitimum.

<v> Jtem quod confirmatum et ratum habeant, quod prædictus rex sit caput supremum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ prout in conuocatione cleri et parlamenti decretum est et
15 ratificatum.

<vi> Jtem vt confiteantur Episcopum Romanum qui in suis bullis nomen Papæ vsurpat, et summi Pontificis principatum sibi arrogat, nihil maioris dignitatis aut authoritatis habendum esse quam ceteros quosque Episcopos in sua quaque diocesj, et ipsum non esse caput ecclesiæ vniuersalis.
20

<vii> Jtem ne quis publice vel occulte vocare vel nominare debeat vel audeat Episcopum Romanum nomine Papæ aut summi pontificis, sed tantum nomine Episcopi Romanj vel ecclesiæ Romanæ.

25 <viii> Jtem si contingat aliquem prædicare, prædicet contra vsurpatij Episcopi Romanj potestatem.

<ix> Jtem fratres minores de obseruantia, profiteantur regulam b. ffranciscj obseruare sub obedientia regis et non Episcopi romanj. Accipiantque Georgium vorby, prouin-

- 30 cialem fratrum Augustinentium pro suo generalj ministro.
 <x> Item vt omnes et singuli concionatores et in suis
 orationibus ex more faciendis primum omnium regem
 nostrum tanquam supremum caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ
 Deo et populo commendent. Deinde reginam Annam cum
 35 sua sobole. Demum Dominum Archiepiscopum Cantua-
 riensem cum ceteris cleri ordinibus.
 <xi> Item nec Ministrj fratrum Minorum obseruanti-
 norum vel conuentualium nec prouincialis patrum Car-
 melitarum, neque prouincialis cuiuscumque ordinis nec
 40 aliquis alius suos fratres aut eorum aliquos visitare præ-
 sumat, priusquam frater Georgius Vrobij, prouincialis
 æremitarum sancti Augustinj, et frater Joannes Helsey
 prouincialis fratrum prædicatorum generales visitatores
 omnium prædictorum ordinum iuxta regnum Angliæ a
 45 domino nostro rege henrico ordinati visitauerint [et]
 certiore reddiderint.
 <xii> Et quicquid auri vel argenti vel quorumcumque
 mobilium cuiuscumque generis aliquod monasterium seu
 cœnobium habere vel possidere compererint, ipsorum
 50 cathalogum sine mendacio ostendere cogantur.



30 Augustinentium]

30 ministro] *before it magistro is crossed off.*

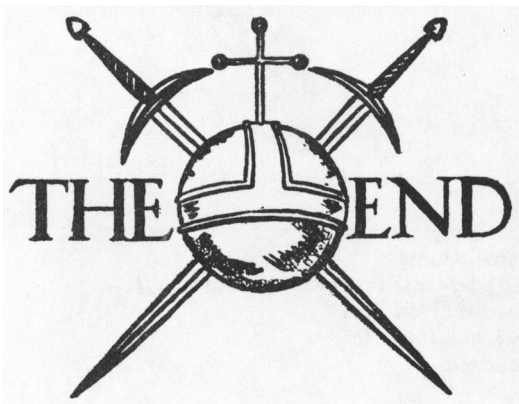
37 Item nec &c] *on f 314 v*

42 Helsey] *possibly Helsen*

45 et] *smudged*

C. NOTES

- 1-3. Jn primis... sequentibus] Strype, I, 330 : Primum, ut omnes et singuli fratres uniuscujusque coenobij intra regnum Angliae in domo sua capitulari, ut vocant, personaliter praesentes, una congregentur. Deinde ut seorsim et separatim singuli examinentur super quibus visum fuerint, &c. that is : First... &c : follows the English translation.
- 4-9. Primo... procreandam] similar articles follow in the series of Injunctions for Visitators of 1535 and afterwards : Strype, I, 330-331.
- 12-24 Jtem... Romanae] equivalent injunctions in Strype, I, 331.
29. Georg. vorby] evidently a misreading for George Browne or Brown : cp. l 41, and before, pp. 205-6.
- 31-36. Jtem... ordinibus] the same article occurs in Strype, I, 331.
42. Helsey] evidently misreading for Hilsey : cp. before, pp. 205-6.
- 47-50. Et quicquid... cogantur] also represented in Strype, I, 332. The two Visitators were ordered to bring back the attestation of the oaths of the various convents warranted by the convent seals and the autograph signature of each friar. On June 21, 1534, Hilsey wrote from Exeter that not one friar had, up to then, decidedly rejected the oath of obedience : *LPH*8, vii, 869; T. E. Bridget, *Life of Fisher* : London 1888 : 282; Constant, 70, 425.



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The Roman numerals in ordinary type added to any of the abbreviations of the following list, refer to the volumes and parts of the volumes; the Roman numerals in *italics* as well as the figures indicate the pages — unless *stated otherwise*.

- AdriBau.** = Heinrich BAUER, Hadrian VI. Ein Lebensbild aus dem Zeitalter der Reformation : Heidelberg, 1876.
- AdriBurm** = Casp. BURMANNUS, Hadrianus VI, sive *Analecta Historica de Hadriano Sexto Traiectino Papa Romano* : Utrecht, 1727.
- AdriHöf.** = Const. Ritter von HÖFLER, Papst Adrian VI. 1522-1528 : Vienna, 1880.
- AdriPas.** = Guido PASOLINI, Adriano VI. Saggio Storico : Rome, 1913.
- AdriReus.** = E. H. J. REUSENS. Syntagma Doctrinae Theologicae Adriani Sexti... cum apparatu de Vita et Scriptis Adriani : Louvain, 1862.
- AgripE** = Henricus Cornelius AGRIPPA ab Nettesheim, Epistolae ad Familiares, & eorum ad ipsum (*in Opera Omnia* : Lyons, c1600 : vol. II).
- Allen** = P. S. & H. M. ALLEN, Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami, denuo recognitum et auctum : Oxford, *from* 1906. — *The figures refer to the letters and the lines.*
- AntwAnn.** = Daniel PAPEBROCHIUS, Annales Antverpienses, ab urbe condita ad annum M.DCC. (*ed.* F. H. Mertens & E. Buschmann : 5 vols) : Antwerp, 1845-48.
- App.** = *Appendix* to this book, pp. 193-210.
- Audin** = Histoire de Thomas More... par Th. STAPLETON, traduite... par Alex. MARTIN, avec une Introduction, des Notes et Commentaires par M. AUDIN : Liège, 1849.
- Azevedo** = J. F. A. F. de AZEVEDO, Table Généalogique de la Famille de Corten : Louvain, 1753.
- BaconW** = Francis BACON, The Philosophical Works.. With the Notes and Prefaces of ELLIS and SPEDDING (*ed.* John M. ROBERTSON) : London, 1905.
- BaleCat.** = John BALE, Scriptorum Illustrium maioris Brytanniae... Catalogus (*vol.* I) : Basle, 1557.
- BaleInd.** = John BALE, Index Britanniae Scriptorum (*ed.* Reg. Lane POOLE & Mary BATESON) : Oxford, 1902.
- BaleSum.** = John BALE. Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum... Summarium : Ipswich, 1548.
- Bang** = W. BANG, Acta Anglo-Lovaniensia. John Heywood und sein Kreis (*in Englische Studien*, xxxviii, 234-50) : Leipzig, 1907.
- BatavMart.** = Peter OPMEER, Historia Martyrum Batavicorum : Cologne, 1625.

- Baumgartner = Alexander BAUMGARTNER, Die Lateinische und Griechische Literatur der Christlichen Völker : Freiburg i. Br., 1925.
- BbBasle = 'Universitäts Bibliothek' of Basle.
- BbCzart. = z Biblioteka Póławskiej XX. Czartoryskich, in Krakow.
- BbUpps. = 'Bibliotheca Regia Upsalensis', in Uppsala.
- Bémont = Ch. BÉMONT, Le Premier Divorce de Henri VIII et le Schisme d'Angleterre : Paris, 1917.
- Beschr., Beschreyb(ung) = Beschreybung des Urtheyls und Todts, weiland des Gross Cantzlers in Engenlandt, Herrn Thomas Morus... (n. p. n. d. [1535] cp. before pp. 41, sq).
- BibBelg. = Valerius ANDREAS Desselius, Bibliotheca Belgica : de Belgis Vita Scriptisque Claris (2nd edit.) : Louvain, 1643.
- BibRefNe. = Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica : Geschriften uit den tijd der Hervorming in de Nederlanden (ed. S. CRAMER & F. PIJPER) : The Hague, from 1903.
- Blunt = J. H. BLUNT, The Reformation of the Church of England : its History, Principles, and Results (2 vols.) : London, 1896-97.
- Brand = John BRAND, Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain (ed. Sir Henry ELLIS : 3 vols.) : London 1849.
- Brewer = J. S. BREWER, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII : vol. III, 1519-1528 : London, 1867.
- Bridgewater = John BRIDGEWATER, Aquepontanus, Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Anglia adversus Calvinopapistas et Puritanos sub Elizabetha Regina : Treves, 1589.
- BritMus. = British Museum Library and Collections of Manuscripts, London.
- Buschbell = Gottfr. BUSCHBELL, Reformation und Inquisition in Italien um die Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts : Paderborn, 1910.
- Cart&Man. = Fonds des Cartulaires et Manuscrits, in the General Archives of the Realm, Brussels.
- Chambers = R. W. CHAMBERS, Thomas More : London, 1938.
- CHEL = A. W. WARD & A. R. WALLER, The Cambridge History of English Literature (14 vols) : Cambridge, 1907-16.
- CochOtto = Carl OTTO, Johannes Cochlaeus der Humanist : Breslau, 1874.
- CochSpahn = Martin SPAHN, Johannes Cochlaeus. Ein Lebensbild aus der Zeit der Kirchenspaltung : Berlin, 1898.
- Constant = G. CONSTANT, La Réforme en Angleterre. I. Le Schisme Anglican. Henri VIII. 1509-1547 : Paris, 1930.
- Constant, II = id., II. L'Introduction de la Réforme en Angleterre. Eduard VI. 1547-1553 : Paris, 1939.
- ContarE = Fr. DITTRICH, Regesten und Briefe des Cardinals Gasparo Contarini 1483-1542 : Braunsberg, 1881.
- Cooper = Ch. H. & Th. COOPER, Athenae Cantabrigienses (2 vols.) : Cambridge, 1858-61.
- CorpCath. = Corpus Catholicorum. Werke Katholischer Schriftsteller im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung : Munster, Westph., from 1920.
- CorpRef. = Corpus Reformatorum : Halle, Brunswick & Berlin, from 1834.
- Cran. = H. de Vocht, Literae Virorum Eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium 1522-1528 : Louvain, 1928. — *Figures refer to letters*

and lines; a, b, c, &c to the paragraphs of prefaces; cyphers to the pages of the Introduction.

Crane = Dougall CRANE, Johannes Secundus, his Life, Work, and Influence on English Literature : Leipzig, 1931.

Creizenach = Wilhelm CREIZENACH, Geschichte des Neueren Dramas : I, Mittelalter und Frührenaissance; II & III, Renaissance und Reformation : Halle, 1901-1911.

Delcourt = Joseph DELCOURT, Essai sur la Langue de Sir Thomas More d'après ses Œuvres Anglaises : Paris, 1914.

Delisle = Léopold DELISLE, Notice sur un Registre des Procès-Verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris pendant les années 1505-1533 : Paris, 1899.

DNB = Sidney LEE, Dictionary of National Biography (*reissue* : 22 volumes) : London, 1908-9.

Dolet = R. C. CHRISTIE, Etienne Dolet, the Martyr of the Renaissance 1508-1546 : London, 1899.

DThC = Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique : Paris, 1903—.

Duff = E. G. DUFF, A Century of the English Book Trade. Short Notices of all Printers, Stationers 1457-1557 : London, 1905.

EE = [J. Clericus,] Desiderii ERASMI Opera Omnia : Tomus Tertius qui complectitur Epistolas (2 vols. = EOO, III) : Leyden, 1708.

EF = Expositio Fidelis de Morte Thomae Mori : edition printed presumably by Jerome Froben, Basle, at the end of 1535 or in the beginning of 1536 : *cp. before*, pp. 37, sq. 64.

Ehses = Steph. EHSES, Römische Dokumente zur Geschichte der Ehescheidung Heinrichs VIII von England 1527-1534 : Paderborn, 1893.

Enders = E. L. ENDERS, Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel (12 vols.) : Frankfurt, 1884-1907.

Ent. = L. K. ENTHOVEN, Briefe an Desiderius Erasmus von Rotterdam : Strassburg, 1906.

Entick = J. ENTICK, History and Survey of London, Westminster, Southwark and Places Adjacent (4 vols.) : London, 1766.

EOO = [J. Clericus,] Desiderii ERASMI Roterodami Opera Omnia (10 vols.) : Leyden, 1708-06.

EraBib. = [Ferd. van der HAEGHEN,] Bibliotheca Erasiana. Répertoire des Œuvres d'Erasmus (8 vols.) : Ghent, 1893.

ErAge = P. S. ALLEN, The Age of Erasmus : Oxford, 1914.

ErAllen = P. S. ALLEN, Erasmus. Lectures and Wayfaring Sketches : Oxford, 1934.

ErasLaur. = H. Durand de LAUR, Erasme Précurseur et Initiateur de l'Esprit Moderne (2 vols.) : Paris, 1872.

Erasmiana = Adalbert HORAWITZ, Erasmiana I-IV (*in Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der K. K. Akademie*, Wien : xc-xcv, cii, cviii : Vienna, 1878-1885.

Et&Aud. = Fonds de l'Etat et de l'Audience *in the General Archives*, Brussels.

Expos. = Expositio Fidelis de Morte D. Thomae Mori, *in MoreLuc.*, 511-520, *reprinted here face-to-face with the Ordo* : pp. 142, sq.

FG = J. FÖRSTEMANN & O. GÜNTHER, Briefe an Desiderius Erasmus von Rotterdam : Leipzig, 1904.

- FlandScript.* = Antonius SANDERUS, *De Scriptoribus Flandriae Libri Tres* : Antwerp, 1624.
- FriedNunt.* = Walter FRIEDENSBURG, *Nuntiaturreichichte aus Deutschland, 1533-1559* : Gotha, 1892-1900.
- Froude = F. A. FROUDE, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada (12 vols.)* : London, 1870.
- FUL = H. de VOCHT, *Inventaire des Archives de l'Université de Louvain, 1426-1797, aux Archives Générales du Royaume à Bruxelles* : Louvain, 1927. — *Reference is made to the numbers.*
- Gairdner = J. GAIRDNER, *The English Church... from the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Death of Mary* : London, 1902.
- GallChrist.* = Gallia Christiana : opera D. Sammarthani, Monachorum Congreg. S. Mauri & B. Hauréau (15 vols.) : Paris, 1716-1860.
- GasqMon.* = Fr. A. GASQUET, *Henri VIII et les Monastères Anglais (transl. by J. Ligné Philippon : 2 vols.)* : Paris, 1894.
- GasqPole* = Card. GASQUET, *Cardinal Pole and his Early Friends* : London, 1927.
- GasqVeille* = Fr. A. GASQUET, *La Veille de la Réforme en Angleterre (translated by A. Bourgeois : 2 vols.)* : Louvain, 1914.
- Geiler* = L. DACHEUX, *Un Réformateur Catholique Jean Geiler de Kay-sersberg* : Paris, 1876.
- Gestel* = C. van GESTEL, *Historia Sacra et Profana Archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis (2 vols.)* : The Hague, 1725.
- GocLE* = Conradi GOCLENII *Epistolae... ad Des. Erasmus Rot.* 1526-1536 : *BbBasle, MS. 'Erasmus Lade'*.
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- Grisar = Hartmann GRISAR, *Luther (3 vols.)* : Freiburg i. B., 1911-1912.
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- Harps. = Nicholas HARPSFIELD, *The Life and Death of Sr Thomas Moore, Knight, sometyms Lord high Chancellor of England (ed. by E. V. HITCHCOCK and R. W. CHAMBERS* : London, Early Engl. Text Soc., 1932.
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- Herminjard = A. L. HERMINJARD, *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de Langue Française (9 vols.)* : Geneva, 1866-1897.
- HeywCirc.* = T. S. GRAVES, *The Heywood Circle and the Reformation (in Modern Philology, x, 553-572)* : New York, 1913.
- HeywRep.* = T. S. GRAVES, *On the Reputation of John Heywood (in Modern Philology, xxi, 209-213)* : New York, 1923.
- HeywSen.* = H. de VOCHT, *Jasper Heywood and his Translations of Seneca's Troas, Thyestes and Hercules Furens, 1559-1561* : Louvain, 1913.

- HisTriLov.** = H. de VOCHT, History of the Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550 (*to be issued shortly*).
- Iseghem** = A. F. van ISEGHEM, Biographie de Thierry Martens d'Alost : Mechlin, 1852. *With a Supplément* : Mechlin, 1866 (= S).
- Jones** = C. L. JONES, The Hammer and the Mall of the Monasteries (*in* The Ushaw Magazine, xxxvi : 145-160) : Ushaw, 1926.
- de Jongh** = H. de JONGH, L'Ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain... 1482-1540 : Louvain, 1911.
- JSecOp.** = Ioannis SECVNDI Hagiensis Opera quae reperiri potuerunt Omnia (*ed.* P. Scriverius) : Leyden, 1619.
- Jusserand** = J. J. JUSSEKAND, A Literary History of the English People : I. from the Renaissance to the Civil War : London, 1906.
- Kerker** = M. KERKER, John Fisher : Tübingen, 1860.
- Keussen** = H. KEUSSEN, Die Matrikel der Universität Köln. Zweiter Band 1476-1559 : Bonn, 1919.
- Krafft** = K. & W. KRAFFT, Briefe und Documente aus der Zeit der Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert : Elberfeld, 1875.
- LastLett.** = The Last Letters of Blessed Thomas More, introduced by Cardinal Gasquet and edited with connecting narrative by W. E. Campbell : London, 1924.
- LatCont.** = H. de VOCHT, The Latest Contributions to Erasmus' Correspondence (*in* Englische Studien, xl, 372-394) : Leipzig, 1909.
- Lauchert** = Friedrich LAUCHERT, Die Italienischen Literarischen Gegner Luthers : Freiburg i. Br., 1912.
- LibIntIV.** = Quartus Liber Intitulorum Universitatis Lovaniensis : Febr. 28, 1529 - Aug. 31, 1569=FUL, 24.
- LP8** = Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII : London, from 1862.
- Maitland** = S. R. MATTLAND, Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England : London, 1849.
- MarqTyp.** = [Ferd. van der HAEGHEN,] Marques Typographiques des Imprimeurs et Libraires... dans les Pays-Bas (2 vols.) : Ghent, 1894.
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- Mol.** = Joannis MOLANI Historiae Lovaniensium Libri XIV (*ed.* by P. F.-X. de RAM : 2 vols.) : Brussels, 1861.
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- MoreLuc.** = Thomae MORI, Angliae Ornamenti Eximii, Lucubrationes, ab innumeris mendis repurgatae : Basle, F. Episcopius, 1563.
- MoreW** = The Workes of Sir Thomas MORE Knyght, sometyme Lorde Chauncellour of England, wrytten by him in the Englysh tonge : London, J. Cawod, J. Waly & R. Tottell, 1557.
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- England. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in England nach Documenten aus den 16^{en}, 17^{en} und 18^{en} Jahrhundert (*translated from the English*) : Mayence, 1874.
- NED** = J. A. H. MURRAY, A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles : Oxford, 1888-1928.
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- Nichols** = J. G. NICHOLS, Narratives of the Days of the Reformation, chiefly from the manuscripts of John Foxe the Martyrologist : London, 1859.
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- OlaE** = OLÁH MIKLÓS, Levelezése. Közli IPOLYI Arnold : Budapest, 1875.
- Opmeer** = P. OPMEER, Opus Chronographicum Orbis Vniversi : Prior Tomus : Antwerp, 1611.
- Ordo** = Ordo Condemnationis Thomae Morj : *text in MS 391^B of Cart&Man., ff 309 r-313 v, reproduced pp. 143, 145, sq.*
- Ortroj** = F. van ORTROJ, Vie du Bienheureux Jean Fisher (Cardinal), Evêque de Rochester (†1535) Texte Anglais & Traduction Latine du XVI^e siècle (*in Analecta Bollandiana*, x-xii) : Brussels, 1893.
- Palsgrave** = Jean PALSGRAVE, L'Eclaircissement de la Langue Française... (*ed. F. GÉNIN*) : Paris, 1852.
- Paquot** = J. N. PAQUOT, Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Littéraire des dix-sept Provinces des Pays-Bas &c. (18 vols.) : Louvain, 1763-1770.
- Pastor** = L. von PASTOR, Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters (16 vols.) : Freiburg i. B., 1886-1933.
- PaulTol.** = N. PAULUS, Protestantismus und Toleranz im 16. Jahrhundert : Freiburg i. B., 1911.
- Pits** = Joannis PITSEI, Angli... Relationvm Historicarvm de Rebus Anglicis Tomvs Primvs : Paris, 1619.
- Platter** = H. HECHT, Thomas Platters des Jüngerer Englandfahrt im Jahre 1599 : Halle a. S., 1929.
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LIST OF PERSONAGES

The following list only records personages of the XVIth century or those especially connected with it; also some living bodies, as abbeys, convents or universities, and places intimately related to More and his family. The figures refer to the pages. As abbreviations are used : 'Bp.' for Bishop; 'pr.' for : printer; 'L. pr.' for : London printer.

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